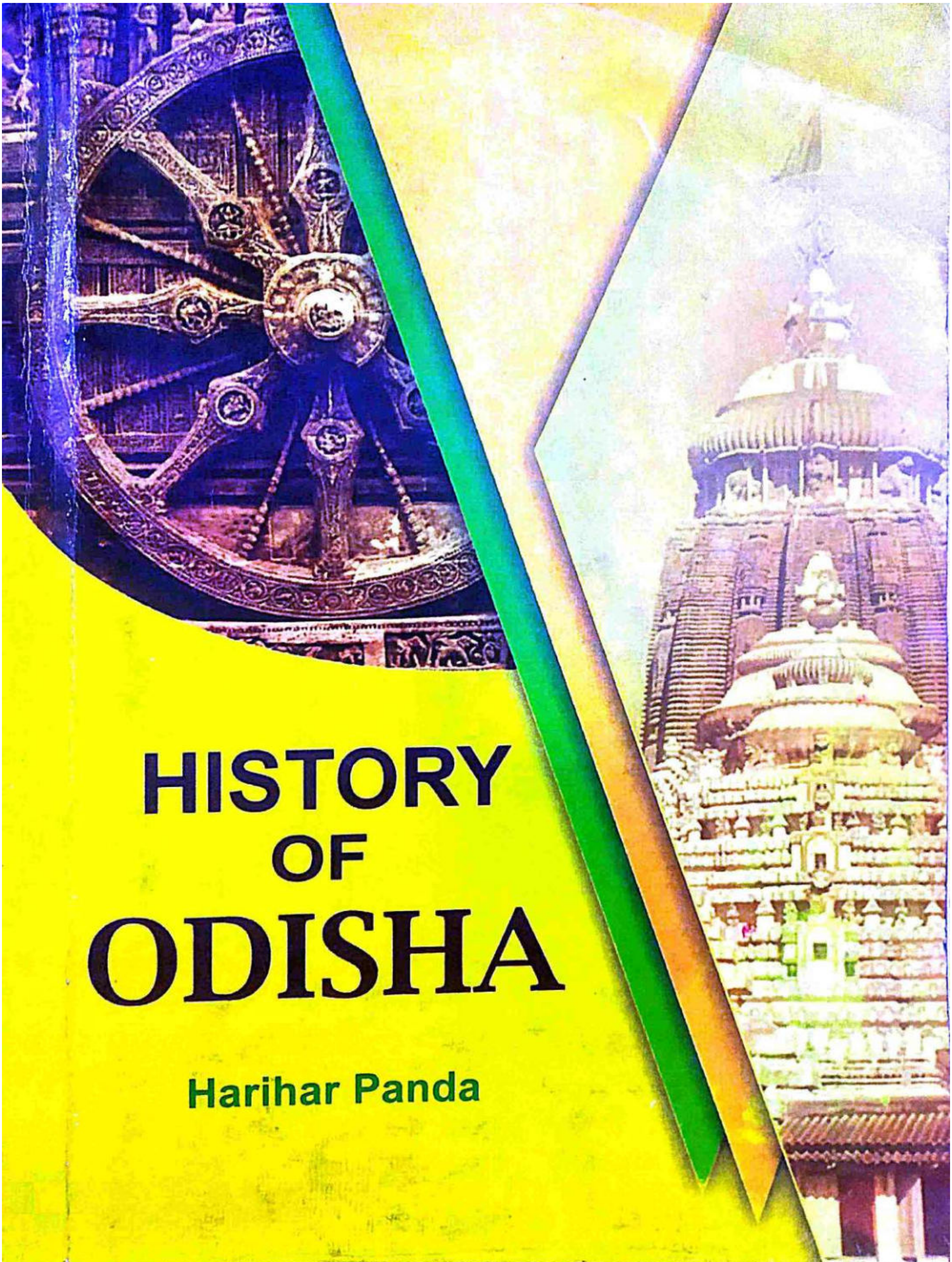

HISTORY OF ODISHA

Harihar Panda

HISTORY OF ODISHA

(For the students of all Universities, Autonomous Colleges of Orissa
& Other Competitive Examinations including OAS)

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DEDICATED IN THE
SACRED MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER
WHO LEFT ME EARLY IN QUEST
OF HER HEAVENLY ABODE

Harihar

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

This gives me immense pleasure in placing the third edition of the *HISTORY OF ODISHA* at the hands of my students. I have received some inspiring letters from many quarters for the new edition of the book. The ODISHA PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION has included 'History of Odisha' as a compulsory one for the examinees so far as General knowledge is concerned. Keeping the interest of students and examinees in view, the book has been revised with the addition of some new chapters. The contributions of some freedom fighters of Odisha has been added as a new chapter. Special care has been taken to accommodate all the topics which are essential for students of different classes. From the point of view of OAS and other examinations several chapters have been included. The lucidity has been maintained out and out. Many important suggestions given by seniors, friends and students have been accepted by this humble soul. Accordingly, necessary corrections have been made with incorporation of new facts. I am sure this book will be able to cater to the need of students and candidates appearing various competitive examinations. I hope, like my other books, this *HISTORY OF ODISHA* will be liked by all. I sincerely thank Sri Chandra Kanta Khandai of KITAB MAHAL, College Square, Cuttack for the timely publication of this book.

New Year, 2018
Cuttack

Harihar Panda

PREFACE

History and historians are two sides of the same coin. The role of a historian is not simply to project history as per his whims and caprices but to present it before the readers basing upon sources which are infact the ingredients of writing history. With the advancement of historiography, the task of a historian has increased immensely. He has to handle variety of sources *viz*, literary, inscriptional, numismatic and so on and so forth before arriving at 'dry truth'.

Keeping the above fact in view, the present work '*History of Orissa*' is an humble attempt in that direction. Writing facts of the history of this land has become an old fashion. What is needed at this juncture is to acquaint our students with copious source materials which help in constructing or reconstructing the history of Orissa. It was a long felt need of the students to know the history of this land tinged with the original sources. An endeavour has been made in the present work to project the sources while discussing facts. For example, the original description from Rock Edict XIII while discussing Asoka's Kalinga War or Hatigumpha inscription for analysing the achievements of Kharavela or the inscriptions of Ganga or Gajapati period assessing the career of the rulers of these respective dynasties have been contemplated in this work.

By merely presenting the sources in their natural form, the task of the author has not ended. He has taken due care to analyse certain 'dark chapters' of the history of this land e.g. nature of polity in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion, the romantic Kanchi-Kaveri episode, the tradition of the much-talked Kalapahada, the true builder of the Jagannath temple at Puri, etc. While discussing these facts (other facts also), careful analysis of the views of several eminent historians has been made before arriving at a conclusion. This, I am sure, will open new horizon before our students and scholars who will carry on further research work on those topics and other facts, thereby, contributing a lot to enrich the regional history.

A historian cannot deliver a final judgement for knowledge as such is infinite and unfathomable. A view is accepted for a certain period and may be contradicted with availability of new source materials. However, the effort of a historian should be to discharge his duty with sincerity and fearlessness. Perhaps, that will be the lasting tribute to history. If our students are benefitted by this work or this work inspires our students and researchers to carry on further research activities always putting much emphasis on original sources, then the dream of the author will be a stern reality when the history of Orissa will be enriched by their contributions.

To conclude, it gives me immense pleasure in acknowledging the help accorded to me in the preparation of the work. I am immensely thankful to the library staff of Ravenshaw Morning College, Ravenshaw College (Autonomous), State Library and State Archives for ungrudgingly supplying me books and materials. I cannot forget the inspiration of my teachers, friends, colleagues and students who have constantly encouraged me to write this book. I remember my revered father Sri Madhabananda Panda and honourable guide Prof. H.A. Phadke in this auspicious moment for their Perpetual encouragement. I am largely indebted to my wife Ratnamani for shouldering all the household responsibilities and giving me adequate and timely help from the beginning of the work till its ultimate completion. I am really thankful to Sri Chandrakanta Khandai of "**Kitab Mahal**", College Square, Cuttack for taking keen interest in the timely Publication of the work.

Harihar Panda

Sri Gundicha
6.7.1997

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Chapter – 1

SOURCES OF ORISSAN HISTORY

For the reconstruction of history, sources play a vital role. There are many gaps between different periods of ancient Orissan history with the availability of new source materials, old idea changes and new light is thrown on facts. Similarly, many missing links have been established in Orissan history due to the discovery of new source materials. Varied sources like archaeological findings from exploration, excavation, art and architecture inscriptions, coins literary and archival have helped immensely in the reconstruction of the history of Orissa.

Archaeological Sources

Archaeology has played a major role in shaping the history of ancient and medieval Orissa. Valentine Ball's exploration in Angul, Talcher, Dhenkanal and Bursapalli exposed the pre-historic sites of Orissa. Paramananda Acharya's of Mayurbhanj had discovered the famous paleolithic site at Kulina. R.P. Charda's works on Mayurbhanj and G.C. Mahapatra's location of extensive paleolithic sites in Central and Northern Orissa are great contributions to early history of Orissa.

The discovery of Asokan rock art at Dhauli and his edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada threw significant light on Kalingan history of third century B.C. Jaugada was another fortified city which served the purpose of Asoka's administration.

In 1949 a new era opened in Orissan with the excavation at Sisupalgarh conducted by B.B. Lal. A fort with impressive gateways led historians to identify it with Kalinganagari, the capital city of Kharavela. The art and architecture of Khandagiri and Udayagiri added lustre to that period.

Devala Mitra's major excavation conducted at Ratnagiri brought to lime light imposing Buddhist monasteries and stupas with famous *Nagabandha*. It flourished between 5th-13th century A.D. as a centre of Buddhist religion, art and architecture.

Two other Buddhist sites at Udayagiri and Lalitgiri near Ratnagiri project the remains of Buddhist and Hindu religion. Sri Madhavapura Mahavihara which flourished between 7th-8th century A.D. was located at Udayagiri. Lalitgiri is a famous site that contains Buddhist stupas, monasteries, images of Buddha, three Buddhist relics and images of Brahmanic divinities. Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitgiri also yielded archaeological remains relating to Brahmanic religion, pottery, terracotta plaques, iron implements, figurines of animals and mother goddess. Due to their Buddhist remains, these three sites are known as the 'Diamond Triangle' of Orissan archaeology.

Archaeology has played a vital role in revealing the history of Western Orissa. The temple-complex at Ranipur Jharial in Bolangir contains several temples. The 64-Yogini temple and Somesvara Siva temple are most important. The site developed around 7th-8th century A.D. Excavations at Boudh, Maraguda (Jonk) valley, Sonepur, Amathgarh, Kharligarh, Manikgarh etc. have thrown a good deal of light on the history of Western Orissa.

The Manikpatna excavation has thrown light on the maritime activities. The southern and the south-western parts of Orissa have projected *Pidha* or *Bhadra deulas* (temples). The Gokarnesvara group on Mahendra mountain in the Gajapati district and the Nilakanthesvara group on the Jagamunda hill in Raygada district are the best examples of this kind. The existence of Sundara Madhava temples, on the bank of river Rusikulya has given opportunity to study the origin of this cult that developed during Purusottamadeva, the great Gajapati ruler.

Bhubaneswar projected a classic example for the study of *Sikhara* or *rekha* type of temples. The Kalingan style of architecture developed in Bhubaneswar right from 6th-7th century A.D. Bhubaneswar is regarded as the 'Temple City' of India. The Satrughnesvara group of temples marked the early phase of temple architecture in Orissa. The Parsuramesvara group marked the transitional phase. The Lingaraj, Jagannath and Konark marked the perfection of the Kalinga style of art. These temples in association with other temples like Ganesh temple at Panchama, Biranchi-Narayan temple at Palia, Samalesvari temple at Sambalpur etc. throw welcome light on Saivism, Vaishnavism, Saktism, Ganapatya Cult, Sun worship etc. Thus archaeological sources have been amply utilised to reconstruct the history of ancient and medieval Orissa.

Inscriptions

Inscriptions form a major source of information for the reconstruction of the history of Orissa. Pictographs project the earliest examples of inscriptions in Orissa. Pictographs are found in several rock shelters in the hills of Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Kalahandi districts. Vikramkhol, Yogimath and Gudahandi are the classic examples of such writings. The inscriptions and signs in these shelters have not been properly deciphered and read. Still these earliest signs and pictographs had expressed the idea of men who were living in Orissa in pre-historic period.

Not only on cave walls, inscriptions in Orissa are largely engraved on copper plates, stone pieces and temple walls. Two sets of Asokan stone edicts (separate Kalinga edicts) found at Dhauli and Jaugada are the earliest epigraphs in the pre-Christian era which throw light on the administrative arrangement of Asoka in Kalinga. The Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela is the first of its kind in the entire country that throws light on the achievements of Kharavela for the long thirteen years ceaselessly. Written in Brahmi script and prakrit language the inscription has allured the attention of scholars from different parts of the country for its uniqueness.

After that inscription, Sanskrit was used largely in other inscriptions. The Bhadrak inscription of Maharaja Gana (3rd century A.D.), the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (4th cenury A.D.), the Asanapat stone inscription of Satrubhanja (4th century A.D.), the Ningondi grant of Mathara ruler Prabhanjanavarman (5th century A.D.), the Rithapur grant of Nala ruler Nandivardhana (5th century A.D.), the Narla grant of Parvatavaraka ruler Nandaraja and Terasingha charter of Tustikara of the same dynasty (both the inscriptions belonging to 5th century A.D.), the Jirjingi charter of the Eastern Ganga ruler Indravarman-I (6th century A.D.), the Kurud charter of Sarbhapuriya rulers Narendra (6th century A.D.) and the Khariar charter of Sudevaraja-I (7th century A.D.) are the inscriptions which throw good deal of light on the early history of this land. Similarly, the inscriptions found from Kanasa, Sumandala, Tekkali, Ganjam etc. describe the achievements of Sailodbhava rulers.

The rule of the Bhauma-Karas (8th-9th century A.D.) forms a glorious epoch in the annals of early medieval Orissan history. The Talcher copper plate of Sivakaradeva-I, the Hindol copper plate of Subhakaradeva-I, the Terundia copper plate of Subhakaradeva-III, the Dhenkanal copper plate of Tribhubana Mahadevi-I and several other Bhauma copper plates throw a good deal of light on the territorial expansion with Bhaumas, their administration, religion, grant of land to others etc.

The Bhauma rule was replaced by the Somavamsis (9th-11th century A.D.). The Bonda copper plate of Tivaradeva, Adhavara copper plate of Mahanannararaja, the Patna, Kalibhana and other inscriptions of Janamejaya, the Cuttack, Nibinna and Patna copper plates and the Kalanjar and Sirpur stone inscriptions of Yoyati-I and several other inscriptions give information about the Somavamsi rule. Their territorial expansion, division, administration, religion etc. are known from these inscriptions.

The four hundred years glorious rule of the Gangas brought stabilisation in Orissan politics. The Korni, Nagari, Draksharam, Chinnabadamu, Simhachalam, Choudwar and many other inscription acquaint the scholars with the achievement of Ganga rulers. Similarly Lingaraj temple inscription, Velagalani, Srisailam, Velicherla, Simhachalam and other inscriptions describe the achievements of the Gajapati rulers. The Gajapati rule came to an end with the foundation of the Bhoi dynasty by Govinda Vidyadhar and gradually the inscriptions were used less and less.

No doubt, inscriptions played a vital role in shaping the history of Orissa. Place-names, territorial boundaries, religion, administrative units, grant of lands etc. were known from inscriptions which were very useful in reconstructing the political, social, economic and religious history of Orissa.

Coins

The study of coins is known as Numismatics. Coins help in reconstructing the economic life of the people, trade and commerce, religion, metallurgy etc. Coins in Orissa can be grouped as punch-marked coins, the Kushana coins, Gupta gold coins, Nala and Sarbhapuriya coins, Srinanda, Kalachuri and Nagas, the Ganga fanams and probable Gajapati Pagoda.

The earliest coins available in Orissa are punch-marked coins which were in circulation between 4th century B.C. to 4th century A.D. These coins were profusely available in coastal and western parts of Orissa. These coins were made of silver and copper and were irregular in shape and size. These coins bore the punch marks of sun, animals, birds, trees, human figures, geometrical designs etc. These coins could very well give a picture of ancient economy of this land.

The Kushana coins and their imitations known as Puri-Kushana coins have been found in large number being scattered at different parts of Orissa from Mayurbhanj to Ganjam. These coins were in circulation in Orissa for around the first three centuries of Christian era.

The invasion of Samudragupta brought Orissa in touch with the Gupta empire. The Gupta archer-type gold coins have been found at Bhanapur, Khiching and Angul. These coins give an idea that trade and commerce of Orissa existed definitely with the Gupta empire.

The Nala coins of the western region of Orissa threw light on the Nala rule in South Kosala of 5th-6th century A.D. The peculiarity of these Nala coins is that the reverse is found blank and the obverse contains a humped bull with crescent with the name of the king in box-headed script. The Nala coins have led to the reconstruction of the history of the Nalas. Even now the coins of Nalas are being discovered regularly.

The Gold coins of the Sarbhapuriyas have helped a lot for the reconstruction of the history of that dynasty. The coins of Prasannamatra, Mahendraditya and Kramaditya help a lot in reconstructing the genealogy and chronology of that dynasty. The findings of these coins from Chhatisgarh, western parts of Orissa and Cuttack suggest that there was trade link between Chhatisgarh and Cuttack via western parts of Orissa. The Srinanda coins have been found from Soro. He was a ruling chief of Chhatisgarh region in the 6th century A.D. A Somavamsi gold coin (9th-11th century A.D.) consisting of the image of Gaja-Laxmi have been found from Junagarh.

The Kalachuris of the Western Orissa (10th-14th century A.D.) issued varieties of coins in gold, silver and copper coins. These coins have been found from Sonepur, Khurda and Jonk river valley describe about Ratnadeva, Prithvideva and Gangeyadeva.

The gold coins of Chhindika Nagas (Bastar-Koraput region) also issued gold coins. From their coins it is known that they ruled over Sonepur in 12th century A.D. Further, the discovery of *Padmatankas* (coins bearing lotus having eight petals at the centre) has opened new dimension to Orissan numismatics. These coins belongs to the Jadavas of Devagiri. However, their rule in Orissa is doubtful.

With the coming of the Gangas Orissan numismatics took a new turn. The small gold coins known as fanams were issued by the Ganga kings. Those fanams are found from Angul, Cuttack and Sonepur. These coins bear South Indian influence.

Some gold coins have been found in Karnataka. Those coins are known as Gajapati Pagoda. These coins were in circulation between 13th-15th century A.D. It is really difficult to assign these coins to the Gajapati period.

Be that as it may, coins have helped a lot in reconstructing the history of Orissa. Without these coins, the reconstruction of the history would have remained incomplete.

Art remains

Different temples, sculptures and icons of Orissa also provide information regarding its history. They provide information regarding religion, dress, ornament of the time. The Lingaraj, Ananta Vasudeva, Jagannath, Chausathi Yogini and other temples contain sculptures which give data regarding the secular and religious history of this land.

Literature

Literature is the mirror of society. It reflects the contemporary events. Several literature had song the glory of Orissa in no uncertain terms.

The ancient epic *Mahabharata* refers to this land and its sacred river Vaitarani and Goddess Viraja. Sage Lomasa advised the Pandavas to go to river Vaitarani to take a holy deep in the river and to wash away all their sins. The *Mahabharata* states—

> "*Tato Vaitaranim Gachhet*
> *Sarva papa Pramochanim*
> *Viraja Kshetramasadya*
> *Virajati yatha Sashi.*"

Another great epic, the *Ramayan* refers to Kalinganagara situated to the west of river Gomati and refers to the Gandhamardana mountain and Utkala associating it with Mekala and Dasarna countries. Further, the Puranas like *Vayu, Matsya, Bhagavata, Harivamsa* amd *Vishnu* throw light on Kalinga and Utkala and their legendary kings. The *Kapila Samhita* and *Prachi Mahatmya* are also considered as the source of Orissan history.

In ancient time Orissa was inhabited by the aborigins who were largely the followers of Jainism and Buddhism. So, the Jaina and Buddhist literature describe about the people of ancient Orissa and their culture. The *Avasyaka Niryukti* reveals that Aranatha, the eighteenth Jaina Tirthankara had achieved his first goal in the city of Rayapura which was said to be a capital city of Kalinga. Further, it states that how Mahavira, while travelling in Tosali was tortured by the local people who took him to be a thief and he was rescued by the timely interference of the Tosali-Kshatriyas. It also refers to the city of Dantapura. The Jaina *Harivamsa* gives a genealogy of the Chedis describing Abhichandra as the founder of that dynasty in Kosala region.

Similarly, the Buddhist literature reflect the history of ancient Orissa. The Mahagovinda Suttanta of *Digha Nikaya* mentions 'Kalinga-rattha' (*Kalinga Rashtra*) along with its capital Dantapura. The 'Upalisutta' of *Majjhima Nikaya* describes how king Nalikira of Kalinga breathed his last as a consequence of his ill treatment towards some innocent ascetics. Kalinga and Utkala find mention in *Kurudharma Jataka, Vessantara Jataka, Kumbhakara Jataka, Kalinga Bodhi Jataka* etc. *Mahaparinirvana Sutta, Dathavamsa, Dighanikaya* and *Mahavastu* also throw light on Utkala and Kalinga. The *Majjhima Nikaya* and *Mahabhagga* give an account regarding the meeting of Tapassu and Bhallika two merchant brothers of Utkal with Buddha, the Enlightened one. The *Gandavyuha* describes that Tosala was a prosperous kingdom in 3rd century A.D. The *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa,* two great Buddhist works depict the friendly relation between Kalinga and Ceylon in ancient period. The *Chulavamsa* describes the frequent visit of the king of Kalinga to Ceylon.

Kautilya's *Arthasastra* of 4th century B.C. is a treatise on statecraft which had influenced the Kalingan polity. It describes about the best variety of elephants produced in Kalinga. Similarly the *Dharmasastras* like the *Manu Smriti, Yajnavalkya Smriti, Narada Smṛiti Brihaspati Smriti, Katyayana Smriti* and *Kamandaki Nitisara* etc. had moulded the social and religious life of the people of ancient Orissa. In a similar manner, the *Brihat Samhita* of Varahamihira, *Astadhyayi* of Panini and *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana also had influenced the socio-religious life of ancient Orissa. In the *Baudhayana Dharmasastra,* Kalinga has been described as an impure country. The *Natyasastra* of Bharata depicts Kosala, Tosala and Kalinga as the southern countries. Kalidasa's *Reghuvamsam* mentions Kalinga and Utkala. Banabhatta's *Harsacharita* mentions about the king of Kalinga. Harsavardhan's *Ratnavali* also mentions about Kalinga. Further, the Post-Sangam Tamil works like *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai* of 2nd century A.D. describe about Kalinga.

In the foreign accounts of ancient period, Kalinga finds mention. The Greek historians like Pliny, Diodorus, Curtius and Plutarch have mentioned about the people of Kalinga. Megasthenes, in his *Indika* refers to Gangaridum and Calingarum Regia (Gangetic-Kalinga region). Pliny gives three divisions of Kalinga, *Viz*-Gangarides (Gangetic), Macco (Middle) and Calingae (Kalinga). The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of an anonymous Greek sailor also gives some description about Kalinga. Another Greek geographer Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) refers to several ports of Kalinga such as Palur, Naingain, Katikardam, Kannagar etc. some of which have been identified. Hiuen Tsang's *Si-yu-ki* refers to *U'Cha* (Odra) *Ki-ling-Kia* (Kalinga), *Kong-yu-ta* (Kongada) etc. and throw much light on the religious condition of ancient Orissa. I-Tsing's records and Gerini's *Researches on Ptolemy* and Lama Taranath's History describe about Kalinga.

For the reconstruction of the history of medieval Orissa, there are varieties of literature. The Ganga period witnessed copious Sanskrit literature of which mention may be made of Murari's *Anargharaghava Natakam* which was stayted at Puri during a car festival. Sri Harsa's *Naisadha Charita Mahakavyam* refers to cowrie cells as currency prevalent in Orissa during medieval period, chewing of betel by the people of this land and Purusottama's (Jagannath's) procession from the temple to platform (*mancha*) on the fullmoon day of Jyestha. Satananda's *Bhasvati* threw light on the movement of celestial bodies. Bidyadhara's *Ekavali* (13th century A.D.) describes the war of Narasimhadeva-I with the sultan of Bengal. Biswanath Kabiraj's *Sahitya Darpana* is a great literary work of the Ganga period. The *Chandrakala Natika* is also a work of the Ganga period. Jayadeva's *Gitagovindam* was a masterpiece in Vaishnava literature of the Ganga period. Basudeva Ratha's *Gangavamsanucharitam* is a mine of information regarding the history of the Ganga, period.

The reign of Suryavamsi Gajapatis witnessed the growth of Sanskrit literature and Oriya literature. The reign of Kapilendradeva which began in 1435 was regarded as the Renaissance in Oriya literature. Among the Sanskrit works of the period, Kapilendradeva's *Parasurama Vijaya*, Jivadeva Acharya's *Bhaktibhagavata Mahakavyam* and *Bhaktibaibhava Natakam, Abhinava Gitagovindam* of Divakaramitra, *Saraswativilasa* of Prataprudradeva throw light on the socio-religious-politico-economic condition of that time including the rule of law. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tarikh-i-Ferozeshahi* of Afif *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* by Ferishta throw a good deal of light on the Bengal invasion of the Ganga rulers. As stated earlier, Kapilendradeva's reign had created Renaissance in Oriya literature. Sarala Dasa's Oriya *Mahabharata* projected the contemporary history of India with historical geography and place-names, socio-religious condition of Orissa during that time. His *Chandi Purana* and *Vilanka Ramayana* threw light on Saktism and Vaishnavism respectively. The age that succeeded Sarala Das was a famous as the age of 'Pancha Sakha' Balarama Dasa's *Dandi Ramayana* and *Laxmi Purana,* Jagannath Dasa's *Bhagabata Gajapati, Brahmagita,* Achyutananda Dasa's *Anakara Samhita, Gurubhaktigita* and *Bhabanabara,* Yasobanta Das's *Tika Gobinda Chandra, Chaurasi Ajna* and Ananta Dasa's *Hetuudaya Bhagavata, Ude Bhakara, Vaishnava Purana* etc. not only enriched Oriya literature but also threw welcome light on the contemporary society and religious practices of the time. The *Madala Panji* or the Jagannath Temple Chronicle of Puri is a source of information regarding the history of medieval Crissa.

During the rule of the Bhoi dynasty, the Bhanjas of Ghumsar contributed a lot to Oriya literature. Upendra Bhanja's *Baidehisa Vilasa, Labanyavati, Kotibrahmandasundari* and *Subhadraparinaya* were milestones in Oriya literature. During that time Dinakrushna Dasa composed *Rasakallola.* Abhimanyu Samanta Singhara's *Bidagdhachintamani,* Bhakta Charan Dasa's *Mathura Mangala* and Brajanatha Badajena's *Chatura Binoda* were treasure houses of Oriya literature which reflected the contemporary socio-religious condition of Orissa.

In 1568, the Afghans conquered Orissa and subsequently the Mughals. After them the Naib Nazims of Bengal and then the Marathas ruled Orissa. In 1803, the Maratha rule ended when the British conquered Orissa. The Persian sources throw welcome light on the history of Mughal Orissa. *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbar Namah* of Abul Fazl, Abdul Qadir Badaoni's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Nizamuddin Ahmed's *Tabaquat-i-Akbari*, Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Ghulam Hussain Salim's *Riyaz-us-Salatin* throw welcome light on the administration and religious condition of Orissa during the Mughal period.

The British factory records from Masulipatnam (1611), Surat (1612), Hariharpur (1633), Balasore (1633), Pipli (1636) and the Portuguese records throw welcome light on the trade and commerce of medieval Orissa.

Among the important Persian sources *Seir-ul-Mutakherin* and *Riyaz-us-Salatin* give vivid description about the Maratha rule in Orissa. The early European travellers in the Nagpur and their records and *History of the Marathas* edited by S.M. Edwards also from source of Maratha rule over Orissa.

Archival Source

Archival sources are very important for the construction of the history of modern Orissa. Varieties of archival materials are available in Orissa state Archives which throw a good deal of light on the British administration over Orissa.

The archival materials for the modern Orissan history are found scattered in the archives of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Chennai and Kolkata. Materials can be gathered from archives at Lisbon, the Hague and London. The British Museum and Commonwealth Relation office are well equipped with source materials for the British Orissa.

Infact several private and literary sources in printed and manuscript form are available in plenty in the archives of West Bengal. The chief printed public sources are the Bengal Revenue Proceedings, Bengal Judicial Proceedings and Proceedings of the Board of Customs and Bengal Revenue Consultations. The National Library at Calcutta also contain many printed materials which form mine of information for the modern history of Orissa.

The Orissa State Archives possesses varieties of manuscript records of the Commissioner of Orissa division and District Collectorates. The Commissioner office proceeding volumes in manuscript form are available in this Archives. Among those are Revenue correspondence in 181 volumes, Judicial 80 volumes, Salt 15 volumes, Marine 15 volumes, Customs 8 volumes and Many loose records on Puri Jagannath temple, Fort St. George records in 37 volumes and several district and private records.

Other printed materials in the Orissa State Archives are the proceedings of Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa, Annual Reports on the Administration of Bihar and Orissa, Proceedings of Madras Legislative Council with special reference to the works of Biswanath Das and Proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Assembly with special reference to the speeches of R.N. Bhanjadeo and Nilakantha Dash. The manuscripts of Madhusudan Das, Gopabandhu Das, Godavarish Mishra, K.C. Gajapati Narayan Deo, Raj families of Dhenkanal and Bolangir are also found in this Archives. The periodicals like the *Bihar-Orissa Research Journal*, The *Utkala Dipika* etc. are also found inside it.

Many printed public sources are also available in the Orissa State Archives. The Proceedings of Orissa Legislative Assembly, administrative and settlement reports are also available inside it. Many Government papers regarding the merger of princely states, Police records, secret papers are also preserved inside Archives which help a lot for constructing the history of modern Orissa.

Newspapers and periodicals are also regarded as good archival materials. The copies of *Utkala Dipika* are preserved in the *Utkal Sahitya Samaj Library* at Cuttack, Orissa State Archives and Utkal University, Vanivihar. The Berhampur University Museum and the Dept. of Oriya also possess issues of *Utkal Darpan, Asha, Mukura, Sahakara, Samaja, Prajatantra, Utkala Madhupa, Sankha, Ratnakara, Indradhanu* etc. The *Sambalpur Hitaisini* is also a great source for describing the history of Western Orissa.

Besides these newspapers and periodicals, the Census of India Report of 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 etc. L.S.S.O. Malley's Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Sambalpur, Midnapure District Gazetteers, the Central Provinces District Gazetteers by R.V. Russell, the Ganjam District Manual by T.J. Maltby and the Orissa District Gazetteers edited by N. Senapati also throw light on modern Orissan history.

Some printed sources like Home Miscellaneous Series, Indian Home Consulataions, Papers on Foreign Department, Secret and Political Consultations, Papers of different Viceroys including Mountbatten are invaluable archival sources for the construction of modern history of Orissa. These papers have helped immensely in constructing the history of Orissa (Modern Period).

Thus, there are ample sources to construct the history of Orissa. With the discovery of new inscriptions, coins and architectural remains, the history of Orissa will get a new shape.

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Chapter – 2

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

For the scientific study of the history of any land, a broad and thorough knowledge of its geography is indispensable. It will certainly be difficult on the part of a scholar to peep into the course of events unless he possesses an accurate information about the precise location of various places that figure prominently in the narrative. Besides, no methodical historian of a country can overlook the immense influence of its physical features that play a vital role in shaping the character of its people and their socio-economic and political destiny. Unfortunately, Geography, as very rightly observed by K. M. Panikkar, 'has been at all times one of the great and most regrettable gaps in Indian history,' The same is true in the case of the history of Orissa.

The Geographical importance of places in relation to historical significance brings forward the notion of 'historical geography'. The understanding of the present is in no way possible without following the genetic approach that goes into the question of how it came into being. Thus, geography has a historical component. It takes into consideration the ecology in relation to human habitation, their homeland, occupation, economic activities ... and in one sense, their variable character. Historical geography essentially aims at the reconstruction of geography of a region of a period which has already passed. By putting together pieces of scattered evidence, all aspects of geography of that period can be reconstructed. In this context, the historical geography of ancient Orissa deserves special attention. Orissa, in the past, was variously known as *Odra, Utkala, Kalinga, Tosala or Tosali* and *Kosala.*

ODRA

The present day Orissa perhaps, derived its name from 'Odra' of ancient times. The Pali texts make repeated mention of *Oddaka* and Greek writers refer to *Oretes* which can be equated with Odra, mentioned in various Sanskrit texts. The *Bhagabata Purana* mentions Odra, among the six sons of Dirghatamas by queen Sudesna, after whom the land had been named. Odra finds mention in the *Manu Samhita* with the Pundrakas, Dravidas, Kambojas, Sakas, Yavanas etc. Pliny placed *Oretes* near mountain *Mallus* which can be identified with Malayagiri near Pallahara in the pesent Angul district. Prof. B. C. Majumdar observes ".... the hilly country lying between Kalinga and Dakshina Kosala (South Kosala) was the Odra land." R. D. Banerji calls the Odras as the people of Northern Orissa. A. Striling, going a step ahead, says that the original seat of the Odra tribe was limited by the river Rishikulya, on the south and Kansabansa, on the north.

In the early medieval period, Odra became a distinct territorial division. The earliest reference to Odra in this period is gleaned from the Soro Copper Plates of Somadatta. It mentions that Northern Tosali was a part of *Odravisaya.* By that time, Northern Tosali was a fairly extensive territory comprising Midnapur and undivided Balasore district and a considerable portion of Mayurbhanj and undivided Cuttack districts. Its inclusion in Odra indicates that the latter was a vast region between river Suvarnarekha in the north and Vaitarani in the south.

Odra finds mention in Hiuen Tsang's *Si-Yu-Ki* where he describes it as *Wu-Cha* which was *7,000 li* or 1,400 miles in circuit. Alexander Cunningham, basing on Hiuen Tsang's accounts, concluded that Odra comprised the undivided districts of Cuttack, Sambalpur and Midnapur and that conclusion is certainly erroneous. Other historians opine that Odra comprised undivided Midnapur, Balasore, Cuttack, Ganjam and Puri districts. However, the present day research excludes the possibility of the inclusion of Puri in Odra. It is only because *Che-li-ta-Lo,* a port mentioned by Hiuen Tsang and its location at Puri by Cunningham and others have been challenged by scholars who locate it either in Tirtol (Jagatsingpur district), Chandbali (Bhadrak district) or Manikpatna (on the bank of Chilika lake in Ganjam district). The location of *Che-li-ta-Lo* has been discussed in forthcoming pages (See chapter 7).

A very interesting fact is that the entire coastal territory from Midnapur district (West Bengal) to undivided Ganjam district was never called as Odra during the period of the Bhauma-Karas. The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa refer to the conquest of Odraka along with Kosala, Kalinga, Vanga and Dahala by Govinda III, who was the contemporary of Subhakara I, the Bhauma ruler. So, Odraka can be identified with the kingdom of Subhakara I. Further, Janmejaya I killed an Odra king in the battle who can be identified with Sivakaradeva III.

From Yayati I, the successor of Janmejaya, the Odra land went on expanding. It included Khinjali *mandala,* Airavata *mandala* and Nasunda hill (Nandava hill of Parlakhemindi, now in Gajapati district).

This region was probably known by the name 'Odravisaya' even upto the eleventh century A.D. The Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola indicates that he conquered Odravisaya. Alberuni (c-1026 A.D.) also refers to a territory named *Udravisau* which can, with a tolerable degree of certainly, be identified with Odravisaya of Tirumalai inscription. Ibn Khurdadhbih's *Ursfin* and Afif's *Udisa* and *Ursin* of the *Hudud-al-Alam* definitely refer to Odra. By the fifteenth century A.D., perhaps the word Odra has been transformed into Uddisa or Udisa and the poet Sarala Dasa mentions in his *Mahabharata* Odisa as synonymous with *Odrarastra. Odisa-rajya,* then became the territory of Gajapati Kapilendradeva (A.D. 1435-1467). From this time onwards the term Odisa denoted the entire region to which the modern name Orissa has been applied.

UTKALA

The territory of Utkala finds mention in various Puranic accounts. The description gives an idea that it is older than Odra, Kalinga and Kosala. Tradition associates the origin of Utkala which Vaivasvata Manu who finds mention among the kings of India. It is said that Ila-Sudyumna, one of the ten sons of Manu, who became male and female alternatively, gave birth to Utkala, Gaya, Vinitasva and Puru. He distributed the portion of his territory received from Manu among his sons and the land which came under the sway of Utkala was known as Utkala Country.

In the epic and puranic literature, Utkala is associated with Malava, Odra, Mekala, Kalinga, Andhra and Dasarna. F.E. Pargiter located Utkala country in the southern portion of modern Chhotnagpur. There will be no harm to say that the people may be regarded as Vindhyan tribes, because the Chhotnagpur hills are an extension of the Vindhyan ranges. Prof. B. C. Law is very correct when he describes the historical geography of Utkala country bounded on the north, by the river Kapisa (modern Kasai flowing through Midnapur district in West Bengal) and on the south, by Kalinga. Its western limit extended upto the Maikal range. As per the description of Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*, Raghu conquered Utkala which extended from the border of Kalinga, in the south to river Kapisa, in the north. There is no doubt that Utkala is the same *Okkala janapada* in the Pali literature. This Utkala was the *Pancha Gauda* or 'Five Indies' of Hiuen Tsang's description along with the four other divisions of the Harsavardhan's empire; *viz*– Sarasvata, Kanyakubja, Mithila and Gauda. Utkala was included in Harsa's empire as it corroborated by the fact that Harsa assigned Jayasena, the Buddhist philosopher, the entire revenue of eight large towns of Orissa.

The earliest epigraphic evidence of the extent of Utkala is gleaned from the Midnapur Plates of Somadatta, a feudatory of Sasanka. The name Utkala is not found thereafter in epigraphic records for a long time. Towards the final quarter of the seventh century A.D., the name Utkala appears in Adhabhara plates of Mahanannararaja of *Sasivamsa* which includes Utkala in the early Somavamsi Kindgom of Kosala.

Tosali or Tosala existed even during post-Harsavardhan period, when Utkala was known as Uttara Tosali ruled by the Dattas. At that time *Dakshina* Tosali or Kongoda was the Kingdom of the Sailodbhavas. The Bhauma-Karas, no doubt, ruled over both the Tosalis or Tosalas for more than two centuries uniting them under one umbrella.

With the fall of the Sailodbhavas, the Bhauma-Kara rule began from the eighth century A.D. who had their capital at Guhesvarapataka or Guhadevapataka at Viraja on the river bank of Vaitarani at Jajpur. It is interesting to note that the Bhauma-Karas never mention their kingdom as Utkala, rather, in their epigraphic records, they refer to their Kingdom as Tosali or Tosala. Of course, in Chaurasi plate of Sivakaradeva II, Subhakaradeva I has been styled as '*Utkalendra*' (the Paramount Lord of Utkala). Further, in the contemporary records, the Bhauma Kingdom has been referred to as Utkala. The Bdal Pillar inscription of Narayanapala points out that Devapala "exterminated the race of Utkalas".

During the two hundred years of glorious rule of the Bhaumas, they created *Mandala*-states to check the expansionist policy of the Somavamsis. However, with the death of Dharma Mahadevi, the last ruler of the Bhauma-Karas, the Somavamsi King Dharmaratha occupied South Tosali in or about 950 A.D. and renamed it Kongoda. The North Tosali (Utkala, as it was known by that time) was annexed by the Somavamsi ruler Yayati II Mahasivagupta about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

During the Somavamsi rule, the entire Tosali (both North and South) was incorporated in their kindgom along with Kalinga and Kosala. The capital of this united kingdom was Yagatinagar on the river bank of Mahanadi identified with Jagati or Jagatinagara near Baud in the present Kandhamal district. However, the identification is doubtful. Now scholars have identified it with Viraja, on the river bank of Vaitarani in the present Jajpur district. With the division of the vast Somavamsi kingdom into Kosala and Utkala, Suvarnapura became the headquarters of the former and Yagatinagara continued to be the capital of the latter. With the gradual march of time, Yajatinagara was occupied by Chodagangadeva in 1110 A.D. and it continued to be the capital of Utkala till Anangabhimadev III made Abhinava Varanasi Cuttack, the capital of Utkala in 1212 A.D. With the decline of the Ganga empire in or about 1435 A.D., the name Utkala lost its political importance and the vast Kindgom of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis was known as Orissa Rajya.

✓KALINGA ②

Among the different political units of this ancient land, Kalinga occupied a prominent place. The fertile costal plains stretching from the mouth of the river Ganges upto Godavari, with mountains and forests, gave a natural boundary to Kalinga. In the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahabharata* sage Lomasa tells Yudhisthira about it in these words-

> ".............. this is the territory of the Kalinga where flows the river Vaitarani............."

Basing upon this description, Profs. B. C. Law and H. C. Raychaudhuri presume that Kalinga included the Eastern coast stretching from the river Vaitarani to the boarders of the Andhra country at the mouth of river Godavari.

The epic account finds corroboration in the works of early Greek writers. In the description of Megasthenes, the river Ganges forms the eastern boundry of Kalinga. Pliny divides Kalinga into three parts *Viz– Gangarides Calingae, Macco Calingae and Calingae.* Its southern boundary, as per Pliny's description, is limited on the bank of the river Godavari basing upon the puranas like *Matsya, Kurma* and *Skanda*, the western frontier of Kalinga is supposed to have stretched upon the Amrakantaka hills on the river bank of Narmada. Thus, as per the Puranic tradition, Kalinga is said to have extended upto the Gangetic valley in the north, the Godavari in the south, the sea in the east and the Amrakantaka hills in the west.

In the fourth century B. C., Kalinga was under the suzerainty of the Nandas. In the third century B. C. during the interregnum between the Nandas and Mauryas, it slipped away from the fold of Magadhan imperialism. With Ashok's Kalinga war of 261 B. C., it came again under the authority of Magadha. Towards the middle of the first century B.C. Kharavels, the mighty king of Kalinga, is said to have extended his sway from Mathura in the north including Magadha to the Pandya kingdom, in the south and the territory of Rathikas and Bhojakas, in the west.

In the fourth century A.D. with the extensive aggrandisement of Samudragupta, Kalinga had to bear the brunt of the Gupta rule. After Samudragupta, Kalinga again rose to prominence under the **Matharas**. During the rule of Sakti Varman, its boundary extended from the river Mahanadi in the north to Krishna, in the South. Of course, his successors could not maintain such a vast empire, yet it included in its fold the districts of Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam, Ganjam and Puri.

With the gradual march of time, in the fifth century A.D. the Eastern Gangas became powerful and assumed the title *Kalingadhipati* and ruled over the territory comprising roughly Visakhapatnam and Srikākulam districts. This small Kalinga territory continued till the end of the eleventh century A.D. At the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. under Chodagangadeva, the redoubtable Eastern Ganga ruler, Kalinga expanded far and wide, once again assuming its previous shape stretching from the Ganges to the Godavari. During the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapati kings in the fifteenth and sixteenth century A.D., Kalinga was reduced to the status of the fiscal unit- *Dandapata*. Even Kalinga *Dandapata* continued to be a fiscal division during the great Mughals.

KONGODA Odra

With the Sailodbhava dynasty, Kongoda came into prominence. Kongoda may be explained as the 'Land of Honey' as *Kongu* in Tamil means honey. This was a *Mandala* state and flourished in the sixth-seventh century A.D. It continued as parts of Kalinga and Odra, The Sailodbhavas gave this Kongoda *Mandala* (undivided Ganjam district) its true shape.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited Kongoda about 638 A. D. states-

> "This country 13History of Orissa was above 1000 *li* in circuit. The country contained some tens of towns from the slope of the hills to the edge of the sea".

Accordingly, it is presumed that it was about 200 miles in circumference and it was a hilly country bordering on the Bay of Bengal.

Basing upon the accounts of Hiuen Tsang, Pandit Binayak Misra tried to fix the territorial boundary of Kongoda. He writes-

> "The hill ranges running from Kaluparaghat west wards seem to have demarcated its northern limit. There is no pass through these ranges of hills which reach a point in the south-west frontier of the ex-Narayangarh State. The Mahendra hill which runs westwards from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the East probably formed the southern boundary line of Kongoda. Again the hills now demarcating the eastern boundary of the (ex)-Kalahandi State may be supposed to be the natural western limit of the same Kongoda."

By the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, Kongoda had emerged as a powerful kindgom under the Sailodbhavas. T. Watters writes about Hiuen Tsang's observation :

> "As the towns are naturally strong, there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring country in awe, and so there was no enemy."

The towns referred to in the Pilgrim's accounts are Gudda, Kondenda, Saumyapura, Matrachandra-pataka, Jaya Kataka, Devagrama, Nivina and Phasika. These towns have not been satisfactorily identified.

Vijaya Kongodvasaka appears to be the capital of Kongoda *mandala* which has been identified with modern Bankada in the light of the antiquities found there on the river bank of Salia.

Harsavardhan, after the death of King Sasanka of Gauda subjugated Kongoda. Prof. R. S. Tripathi observes-

> "Harsa made this region a strong military outpost of his far-flung empire, probably with a view to preventing any foreign incursion on the borders, threatened as they were by the eastward advance of Pulakesin II".

With the death of Harsa in 647 A.D. Madhavaraja II, the Sailodbhava King of Kongoda maintained his power and pelf for a long time which is revealed by his Cuttack charter. Thus, Kongoda got back her independence shortly after the death of Harsavardhan.

With the fall of the Sailodbhavas, in the first half of the eighth century A.D., Kongoda *mandala* lost its glory. Subsequently, it was reduced to a *Visaya* (district) of Dakshina Tosali when the Bhauma-Karas emerged as a dominant political power and united both the Tosalis.

✓TOSALI (3)

Tosali or Tosala finds mention very often in ancient Indian literature. While it is mentioned in the 'Parisistha' of *Atharva Veda* along with Kosala, the Puranas associated the people of this territory with Kotalas, Nisadas, Traipuras, Tumuras, Valdisas etc. The Jaina text *Avasyaka Niryukti* states about this land as follows :

> "Lord Mahavira, in the eleventh year of his monkship, came to Tosali where he was taken to be a robber and hit hard. From here, the venerable teacher went to Masoli, where too he was taken to be a robber, was arrested and brought to the king's court, but was released as the king was a friend of Mahavir's father. On his return jurney from Masoli Mahavira again came to Tosali. Here, again, he was caused great troubles and was on the point of being hanged when he was rescued through the timely interference of the Tosali-Kshatriyas".

The text confirms that Tosali was a centre of Jaina preachers and followers. It had a splendid image of Jaina which was guarded by King Tosalika.

Willford identifies Tosala-Kosalaka of the *Brahmananda Purana* and Kosalaka or Kosala of the *Brihat Samhita* on the basis of the existence of a tank named Kosala Ganga situated near Dhauli in Bhubaneswar which was known as Tosali in ancient times. This identification seems improbable because it was based on distorted facts and Tosali and Kosala are two separate and uniquely distinct territories. Of course, Bharata, in his *Natyasastra* shows Tosala as a distinct territory but it had its link with Kosala and Kalinga.

Tosali finds mention in the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Iksvaku king Virapurisadatta (third century A.D.) where it has been described as the abode of the Thera School of monks. The *Gandavyuha*, a Sanskrit-Buddhist text of the third century A.D. describes that a country named Amita Tosala, with its capital city Tosala, is situated in *Dakshina patha*. In this text, it is found that Upasika Achalsthira instructs Sudhanakumara, an aspirant in the following way–

> "Now youngman, go hence, in this Deccan where we are, there is a country Amita Tosala; there is a town named Tosala; it is there that dwells a wandering Parivrajaka of the same Sarvagramin."

The text then runs :

> "He went from there to the country of Amita Tosala, in search of the town of Tosala. At the time of sunset, he reached by stage the town of Tosala........ he perceived in the northern region of the town of Tosala the mountain called Surabha, the top of which was covered with grass, groves, plants, forests and gardens..............."

Prof. N. K. Sahu identifies Surabha hill with Dhauli hill at Bhubaneswar. The city of Tosali is very likely the same as the ancient Tosali, the Mauryan headquarters of Kalinga in the third century B. C. during the period of Asoka which played an important role in political and cultural history of ancient India.

Amita Tosala of the *Gandavyuha* appears to be 'Great Tosala' which later on was divided into two parts *viz.* 'Uttara Tosala' (North Tosali) and 'Dakshina Tosala' (South Tosali) Uttara Tosala rose into glory under the King Sambhuyasa of the 'Maudgalyakula' whose feudatory Somadatta ruled in 580 A. D. Nothing definite is known as to when the name Uttara Tosali originated, but by 570 A.D. the name Dakshina Tosali was not in vogue. An idea regarding the extent of both the Tosalis can be formed from the Soro, Patiakela, Midnapur and Kanasa Copper plates. The whole of Midnapur district in West Bengal, the whole of the present undivided Balasore district, the south eastern portion of Mayurbhanj district together with the northern portion of undivided Cuttack district of Orissa probably formed the Kingdom of Uttara Tosali.

The name Dakshina Tosali is found for the first time in 600 A.D. in the Kanasa copper plate of the Vigraha King Lokavigraha. It comprised roughly the undivided Puri district together with the southern portion of undivided Cuttack district and the northern portion of undivided Ganjam district. The river Mahanadi was probably the dividing line between the two Tosalis.

The unification of Dakshina Tosali began early in the seventh century A.D. The Patiakela copper plate of 603 A.D. indicates that Sambhuyasa, the Lord of Uttara Tosali spread his suzerainty over Dakshina Tosali. The independence of this unified Tosali appears to have been lost to the hands of King Sasanka of Gauda sometime before 620 A.D. After his death Harsavardhan, the emperor of Kanauj, conquered the major portion of Orissa and his Orissa empire was known as Odravisaya. During the visit of Hiuen Tsang, the territory was called Wu' Cha (Odra) country.

A veil of darkness pervades the political scenario of Tosali for about a century after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim and it disappears with the emergence of the Bhauma-Karas in 736 A.D. as a great political power. The grand empire extending from the river Kasai in the north to Rishikulya in the south comprised the kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas. The whole of Tosali was included in this vast empire. Of course, the division of Tosali as North and South remained as usual during the palmy days of the Bhaumas. With the coming of Somavamsis in the tenth century A.D. the entire Tosali assumed the old name Utkala. The entire land was unified under one suzerainty by Somavamsi ruler Yayati II Mahasivagupta who declared himself in the Maranjamura Charter to be the Lord of Kalinga, Kongoda, Utkala and Kosala. Of course, by that time, Kongoda has been reduced to a district of Dakshina Tosali.

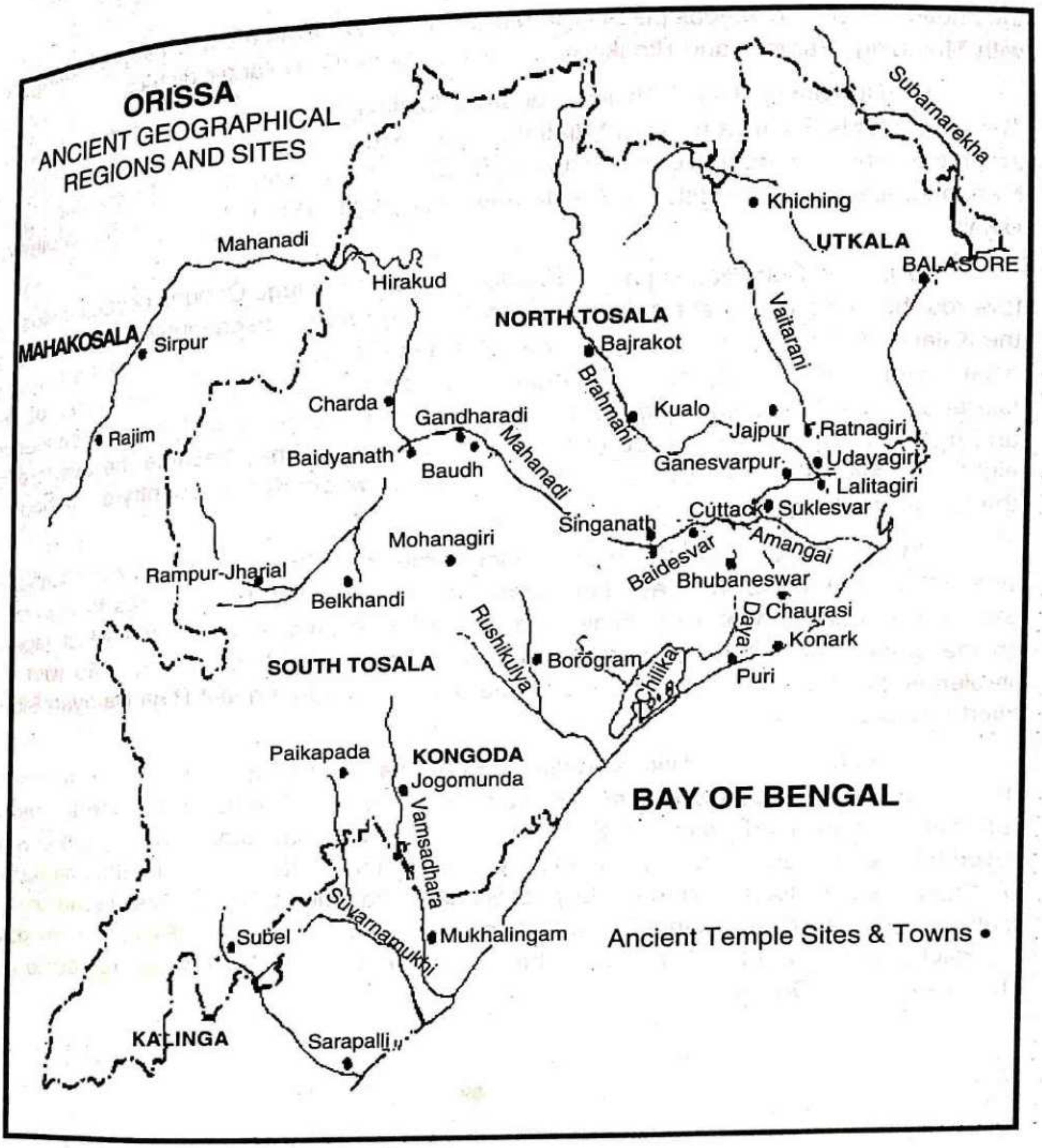
✓KOSALA ⑤

The territory of Kosala is attributed to a mythical origin. Rama, the Prince of Kosala, being banished with his brother Laxmana and his wife Sita travelled south from Ayodhya to Prayaga. Travelling south-west upto Narmada valley, he came upto a place identified with modern Chhatisgarh area. He dwelt there for at least a decade and Prof. Pargiter opines that his long stay in that region gave rise to the name Dakshina Kosala (South Kosala), after his original homeland Kosala.

The *Ramayana* projects the fact that after Rama, the kingdom of Kosala was divided between his two sons–Lava and Kusa holding sway over North Kosala and South Kosala respectively. Sravasti was the centre of political activities for North Kosala while Kusavati or Kusthalipura, near the Vinahyas, was regarded as the citadel of political power for Southern Kosala.

Kosala also finds mention in the 'Vana Parva' of the *Mahabharata*. Of course, the great epic remains silent about Uttara Kosala (North Kosala) which comprised the Ayodhya region. Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri locates Dakshina Kosala in the territory comprising the modern districts of Bilaspur, Raipur and undivided Sambalpur.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Harisena includes Kosala among the territories of *Dakshinapatha* which were subjugated by Samudragupta. Kosala along with Mekala and Malava formed the empire of the Vakatakas and after their fall, it came under the grip of the Sarbapuriyas. Hiuen Tsang who visited Kosala in 639 A. D. described the kingdom as


ORISSA
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS AND SITES
Subarnarekha
Khiching
UTKALA
BALASORE
Mahanadi
Hirakud
NORTH TOSALA
Vaitarani
MAHAKOSALA
Sirpur
Bajrakot
Brahmani
Kualo
Charda
Gandharadi
Jajpur
Ratnagiri
Rajim
Baidyanath
Mahanadi
Ganesvarpur
Udayagiri
Baudh
Lalitagiri
Cuttack
Suklesvar
Singanath
Mohanagiri
Amangai
Baidesvar
Rampur-Jharial
Bhubaneswar
Belkhandi
Rushikulya
Daya
Chaurasi
Konark
SOUTH TOSALA
Borogram
Chilika
Puri
Paikapada
KONGODA
Jogomunda
BAY OF BENGAL
Vamsadhara
Suvarnamukhi
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KALINGA
Sarapalli

6000 *li* in circuit. As per the description, it may be presumed that Kosala comprised the districts of Bilaspur and Raipur in Madhya Pradesh along with the undivided districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Bolangir in Orissa.

Kosala remained under the Somavamsis in the eighth-ninth century A.D. At about the middle of the ninth century A.D. when Kalachuris of Dahala became a rival power of the Somavamsis, the latter had to shift the centre of their political activities to Sripura which was captured by the Kalachuris subsequently. Then, the Somavamsis had to shift their head quarters to various places like Murasimakataka, Arama and Vinitapura identified with Murshing, Rampur and Binaka respectively, all in the Bolangir district.

With the annexation of Khinjali mandala, Yajatinagara, became the capital of Kosala. The redoubtable Somavamsi king Yajati II brought Kosala and Utkala under one umbrella about the middle of the eleventh century A. D. Making Suvarnapura (at the confluence of Mahanadi and Tel) the capital of Kosala and Yajatinagar, (Viraja in Jajpur) the capital of Utkala.

When the Somavamsi power dwindled away, the Telugu Chodas occupied Kosala towards the close of the eleventh century A.D. They were subsequently driven away by the Kalachuris who established their sway over the region for a long time till the Gangas established their authority over this region and their rule continued till the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Outsting them from power, the Chauhans rose to political eminence and made Sambalpur the centre of their political ativities. They became the overlord of eighteen states (Atharagarha) comprising almost the whole Kosala country described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang.

In 1821, Maharaja Sai, the last ruler of the main Chauhan line lost his authority over Atharagarha and the East India Company issued separate sanandas to individual states. The great Chauhans remained satisfied with one state i.e. Sambalpur which lapsed to the grand empire formed by the East India Company in India during 1849 with the implementation of Lord Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse when the last Raja Narayan Singh died issueless.

As noticed, Odra, Utkala, Kalinga, Kongoda, Tosali and Kosala were territories having distinct boundaries of their own and the boundary changed from time to time in ancient and early medieval days. Sometimes, it is noticed that some of these names were used as interchangeable terms, e.g. Odra was known as Tosali during the Bhauma-Karas. At the advent of fifteenth century A.D. poet Sarala Dasa made Udisa or Orissa synonymous with Odrarastra which became Odisa rajya during the great Gajapatis. Right from the days of Kapilendradeva (1435-1467 A.D.), this empire land of the Oriya speaking people has been known as Odisa.

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Chapter – 3

KALINGA UNDER THE MAURYA RULE

The Mauryan sway over Kalinga not only added a new feather in the already crowned cap of Magadhan imperialism, but it also brought about a radical change in the existing polity of the land. Though the Nandas had established their authority over Kalinga, they had not probably altered the existing administrative set up of Kalinga. After Asoka's Kalinga war of 261 B.C., an elaborate system of administration was arranged for this newly conquered province of the Mauryas.

ASOKA'S KALINGA WAR

The Kalinga war is an eventful landmark in the glorious career of Asoka. It occurred in 261 B.C. eight years after the coronation of Asoka. A detailed enumeration of this war is gleaned from Rock Edict XIII found at Shahbazgarh in Pakistan near the Pak-Afgan border. Kalinga was under the suzerainty of Magadha during the Nandas as is known from the description of Alexander's historians who refer to the big elephants of Gangaridie (Kalinga) which were a constant source of fear to Greek soldiers who did not venture to cross sword with Dhana Nanda. Kalinga probably slipped away from the fold of Magadhan imperialism when Kautilya and Chandragupta Maurya revolted against the Nandas around 322-321 B.C. Chandragupta Maurya had never attempted to annex Kalinga during his life time. Bindusara's thirst for 'wine and Sophists' prevented him to have a war with the people of Kalinga. So, it was a historic necessity on the part of Asoka to conquer Kalinga. The following causes were responsible for the Kalinga war.

Political Cause

The Magadhan empire during Asoka had surrounded Kalinga in the north, west and south. The existence of Kalinga on the border of Magadha was definitely a threat to the power and potentiality of the latter. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar rightly observes that Kalinga might at any time conspire with the Chola Kingdom of the South to fight against Magadha. Thus, Kalinga definitely posed a threat to the grand Magadhan empire. Before Kalinga rose to that extent, Asoka wanted to crush it.

Economic Cause

Certain economic factors created rivalry between Kalinga and Magadha. Kalinga monopolised the oversea trade in the Indian ocean and gained vast wealth. Her wealth also increased from inland trade. Through the Mauryas had foreign relation with the contemporary Hellenistic powers, they had not maintained commercial relation with them. It may also be pointed out that the Mauryas by that time had not built up a naval power and the

Navadhyaksha (Superintendent of Shipping) mentioned by Kautilya in his *Arthasastra* was incharge of policing the rivers, lakes and seashores rather than building ships for maritime trades. So, the economic prosperity of Kalinga became an eye-sore for Magadha.

Commercial Cause

In commerce, Kalinga was a great rival of Magadha. Important trade-routes from the Gangetic valley to the Deccan and further south passed through Kalinga facilitating her trade and commerce. Though, Magadha had foreign relation and huge internal resources, it suffered from a commercial crisis due to the lack of trade routes. The existence of flourishing Kalinga with her trade and commerce was adversely affecting the economy of the Mauryan empire.

Stealing of Asoka's jewels by the Nagas

As per the description of Lama Taranath, a Tibetan author, the Nagas stole away the jewels of Asoka. So, the emperor became angry and conquered their territory. P. H. L. Eggermont in his book *The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya* identifies the Nagas with the seafaring people of Kalinga. In order to appease his anger, Asoka invaded Kalinga. Since there is no corroborative evidence for this fact, it may be taken with a pinch of salt.

Legend of Karuvaki

A strange anecdote regarding the cause of Kalinga War prevails among the fisherman community of the eastern coast of Orissa. According to this, Asoka invaded Kalinga being infatuated by the beauty of Karuvaki, the daughter of a fisherman and the fiancee of the crown prince of Kalinga. Though this fact appears absurd, it cannot be rejected outright because from the Queen's Edict, it is known that Asoka had a queen named Karuvaki, the mother of Tivara.

Religious factor

Perhaps, religion was a potential factor for Asoka's Kalinga invasion. Before Kalinga War, Asoka was a devout Saiva. Though, it is difficult to ascertain what was the prevalent form of religion in Kalinga, with tolerable degree of certainty, it can be stated that Buddhism and not Brahmanism (Saivism) was prevailing in Kalinga. Asoka might have decided to wage a holy war against Kalinga to teach the Buddhists a lesson. Though, nothing concrete is available to the historians regarding the nature of polity in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion and also the state of religion in this land, it appears that Brahmanism, as a state religion, did not prevail here. Future research may throw light on this controversial factor.

The Kalinga War

As stated earlier, the much expected Kalinga War took place in 261 B.C. From Megasthenes, account, it is known that Magadhan army during Chandragupta Maurya, consisted of 6,00,000 men. Definitely, it would have increased during Asoka. So, with that grand army Asoka invaded Kalinga from north, west and south. The Kalingans resisted the aggression vehemently. The war took place on the bank of the river Daya near Dhauli.

Rock Edict XIII describes the horror of the Kalinga War. In this war, 150,000 soldiers from the side of Kalinga were taken as captives by Asoka, 100,000 were slain and as many as that number (150,000 + 100,000=250,000) died of injuries and pestilence in the aftermath of the war. The war brought miseries not only to those who took to arms but also to a large number of civil population including Brahmanas, Sramanas, their relatives and friends.

Results

The sanguinary Kalinga War changed Asoka's mind. In Rock Edict XIII, Asoka expresses-

> "In conquering indeed an unconquered country (Kalinga), the slaying, death, deporting that occur there are considered extremely painful and serious by the Devanampiya..."

This war brought about a great transformation in the mind of Asoka. He was changed from *Chandasoka* to *Dharmasoka* with a vow to conquer mankind by conquering the heart of the people and not to win over them by war.

The Kalinga War brought about intense feeling or remorse in the mind of Asoka. It drew himself close towards Buddhism. After Kalinga War, he was converted to Buddhism by Upagupta, a Buddhist monk or Nigrodha, the seven year old son of Asoka's elder brother Sumana whom he had killed or Mogaliputtatissa, the president of the Third Buddhist Council. Whatever the fact might be, Asoka accepted Buddhism after the Kalinga war.

This transformation of Asoka helped in the spread of Buddhism. Buddhism, which was confined to the middle of the Gangetic Valley in Pre-Asokan period, suddenly became an all-India religion within a decade of his conversion. Not only in India, Buddhism also spread to different parts of the world. He sent Mahendra and Sanghamitra, his son and daughter respectively to Ceylon, Sona and Uttara to *Suvarnabhumi* (Burma) and further, he maintained friendly relation with Kings of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Macedonia and Cryne by sending missions of peace. Thus, Asoka, being converted to Buddhism after the Kalinga War, was instrumental for the spread of Buddhism from Greece to Burma and from the Himalayas to the Ceylon.

Asoka adopted a paternalistic attitude towards his subjects after the Kalinga War. In separate Kalinga *Edicts* (Dhauli and Jaugad) Asoka expresses himself as such........

> "All men are my children and just as I desire for my children that they should obtain welfare and happiness both in this world and the next, the same I do desire for all men........"

This attitude made him a completely benevolent ruler.

A significant aspect of the Kalinga War was that it led to the growth of art, architecture and literature unprecedented in the land. Engravement in the edicts, erection of stupas etc. made the Mauryan art unique in the annals of ancient Indian history. The Pali language which Asoka used in his edicts brought cultural unification of India.

With annexation of Kalinga, Magadhan imperialism was completed. Kalinga became the fifth province of the Mauryan empire and was goaded by the love and affection of Asoka. The forest kingdom adjacent to Kalinga was not conquered by Asoka which proves his magnanimity and change.

Critical Analysis

With the advancement of historiography, reconstruction of history, particularly regional history, has become indispensable. In this light, the review of Kalinga war has become a historical necessity. Now several questions crop us in the mind of a serious student of history. Is it true about the number of soldiers who met their end in the Kalinga war or were taken as captives or perished in the aftermath of war on behalf of Kalinga described in Rock Edict XIII ? If it is true, then did such a huge number of soldiers exist in Kalinga by that time taking the geographical area of Kalinga into consideration ? If not, then why did Asoka describe this fact in Rock Edict XIII ? If he did so, then why did he not install this edict somewhere in Kalinga ? At last, if a change occurred in Asoka, was it his real internal transformation or diplomatic manoeuvre for fulfilling his royal ambition ?

As we all know, the historic necessity of Asoka to conquer Kalinga from the political point view, Kalinga's control over trade routes posing a hindrance to Magadhan economy, Kalinga's prosperity gained from Inland and maritime trade etc. formed the causes of the Kalinga War. Whatever the fact might be, Asoka invaded Kalinga in 261 B.C. with his grand army and as per Rock Edict XIII five lakhs (1+1.5 = 2.5 + 2.5 = 5) people perished and then Asoka was converted to Buddhism.

Now, on the basis of Asoka's Rock Edict XIII, let the strength of Kalingan army be analysed. H.C. Das by a brilliant analysis has shown that the combined army of Magadha and Kalinga were about ten lakhs. From Rock Edict XIII, it is known that the army of Kalinga consisted of five lakh soldiers. Is it possible ? If the number of army would be five lakhs then the number of the civilians must roughly be sixty to seventy lakhs. From the demographical point of view, this seems improbable. Kalinga, during Asoka's time roughly comprised of the undivided Puri district, some area of Dhauli adjacent to Cuttack district, entire Cuttack and Ganjam districts (atleast upto Jaugad with a large chunk of area covered by forests. Before roughly 2250 years, how could the population of such a small state be sixty-seventy lakhs (at least twelve or fourteen times of the army) ? It would not even be more than two lakhs, what to say about the army ?

Why did Asoka then engrave such a false description in Rock Edict XIII ? The most surprising thing about this is that though the names of the kings of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Macedonia and Cryne have been mentioned in it, the name of the king of Kalinga is absent. Of course, it is controversial whether there was monarchy or republic in Kalinga at the time of Asoka's conquest of this land. Whatever the fact may be, it is true that the name of the king (if monarchy was there in Kalinga) or of the tribal chief (if Kalinga had a republican form of government by that time) is not found in the Rock Edict XIII. Its reason may be that the name of the king or the tribal chief (chiefs) was not so important or he was not so powerful in comparison to the kings mentioned in the Rock Edict XIII. It appears from the edict that Asoka had defeated the king (tribal chief or chiefs) of Kalinga with ease. On the other hand, Asoka blew the trumpet of glory of his heroism through this

Edict. Had the fact been true, would Asoka not have installed this edict on the soils of Kalinga, the land which brought a great transformation in his life ? Why did he install that edict far off from Kalinga ? Its simple answer is that the facts described in Rock XIII would have been detected by the Kalingans as false. Due to this fear, Asoka did so.

Now, let us discuss the find-spot of Rock Edict XIII. It has been found from distant Shahbazgarhi in Pakistan on Pak-Afghan border. What is the reason for installing the inscription there far away from Kalinga ? Probably, it was kept there from the point of Asoka's diplomatic consideration. His dream of the conquest of Kalinga has been fulfilled. Had he installed that edict even pointing out the casualties of the Kalinga War, the Kalingans would have never forgotten that sanguinary battle and would at any time conspire to raise voice against Magadhan imperialism. By posing himself as the embodiment of paternalistic attitude before the people of Kalinga, Asoka won them and brought them under his clutch.

There might be other reasons for installing Rock Edict XIII in Shahbazagarhi. Asoka was a shrewd diplomat. Before his Kalinga War the Magadhan empire extended in the north-west upto the Persian empire, Saurastra in the west, Magadha in the east, the north-eastern boundary line marked by the Rock Edicts found at Shahbazgarthi and Manshera in the Peshawer and Hazara districts and Kalsi in the Dehradun district and in south, Chitaldrug district in Mysore and Nellore district in Madras. After the conquest of Kalinga his empire extended touching Dhauli and Jaugad in the east. After conquering Kalinga, he became the master of vast territory. Now, his only desire was to enjoy such a vast empire.

Why did Asoka do so ? For the enforcement of *Dharma* (moral-ethical code of conduct) Asoka prohibited animal sacrifice and festival gatherings as is gleaned from Rock Edict I. Prof. Romila Thapar rightly emhasises more on the sacrificing of animals rather than their killing and the mention of the animals killed for the royal kitchen (even though the king adds later in the edict that he wishes to discountinue this practice at a future date), points to the order being no more than a desire on his part to make his own belief in non-violence wide-spread. Similarly, the prohibition of *Samaja* (popular festive gatherings) is definitely in conformity with the idea of strict centralisation of power. On the other hand, by this he also did not give any chance to his subjects to have an organised rebellion against him. To add to this view, it can be suggested that Asoka offered the hemlock of *Dharma* to his subjects making them inactive and sailed his ship of administration smoothly.

Coming to the external policy of the Mauryan empire, the reason of installing Rock Edict XIII at Shahbazgarhi by Asoka is obvious. He was in a position, as opined by Thapar, to maintain pacific policies because his frontiers were secured and the only danger that would have come from Antiochus of Syria was successfully averted when Asoka maintained friendly relation with him. This can be looked differently also. The installation of Rock Edict XIII at Shahbazgarhi that contained the horror and terror of Kalinga War would definitely create fear in the mind of external enemy instead of crossing sword with no less than such a cruel monarch like Asoka, the enemy would retreat back.

Now the last question is to be answered. The fact that Kalinga war changed *Chandasoka* to *Dharmasoka* is a misnomer. Had it been so, then Asoka would have freed Kalinga from the clutch of Magadhan imperialism. He would have liberated the land to which he owed so much so that it made him a pacifist. He never did so. He enjoyed the wealth of Kalinge till his death by subjugating it under Magadhan suzerainty.

The answer of the above question can be viewed from different angle. If Asoka became a pacifist, then why he maintained the grand Magadhan army ? This was definitely a contradiction of Asoka's policy of pacifism. The idea behind this was the sheer diplomatic design of Asoka. He was never a pacifist rather a monarch out and out. His iron hands were quite visible under velvet gloves. He had the fear that at any time, internal rebellion might occur or external aggression might take place. So he kept the grand Magadhan army in tact to face any eventuality. Under the garb of a pacifist he was a realist and shrewd diplomat who wanted to see the vast Magadhan empire in tact and to enjoy it till his death.

Thus conceived, there is a haio of exaggeration around Asoka's Kalinga War. The arm-chair aproach to history is not to be taken into consideration while analysing it. The change of Asoka from *Chandasoka* to *Dharmasoka* was an outward show. Asoka remained a king, throughout a king and every inch a king. He became a paramount sovereign after Kalinga War and saw the whole India united under Magadhan suzerainty. The religious flavour which he attached to his life and administration after Kalinga War is true not in the sense that he became a Buddhist but under the guise of Buddhism he devised means for the smooth continuity of his regime.

WHAT WAS THE NATURE OF POLITY IN KALINGA DURING ASOKA'S INVASION ?

A teacher, while teaching ancient Indian history or history of Orissa, very often faces a question from his student "what type of government existed in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion ?" This question remains a puzzle so far to the historians of this country. Though historians like Professors, H. C. Raychaudhuri, R.S. Tripathi, R. K. Mukherjee, Romila Thapar and others, have thrown much light on Asoka's Kalinga War, none of them have taken up this fact for serious historical discussion. With the advancement of historiography, reconstruction of history, particularly regional history, has become indispensable. Keeping that in view, an honest endeavour has been made to analyse whether there was monarchy or democracy in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion of 261 B.C.

Let us examine the possibility of the existence of any type of republic in Kalinga during the Kalinga War. Here attention can be drawn towards separate Rock Edict II of Asoka that says :

> "The unconquered people on may borders may ask– What is the policy of the king towards us ? They should be made to understand that this is my desire with regard to them.The king desires that they should not be worried because of him. They should deserve consolation from him and get happiness and no sorrow...."

As is well known, Asoka did not conquer the entire Kalinga and was satisfied with the conquest of the coastal Kalinga leaving *atavika* kingdom in tact. In the west of Kalinga remained this forest kindgom where tribal people like Sabara and Kulinda lived. In order to satisfy them Asoka had taken this step because those people formed an integral part of the Kalinga army. This gives a clue to form the idea that there was a democratic set up in Kalinga by that time because different tribes and categories of people and their representatives in this confederacy and they served the kingdom in their various capacities. From the anecdote of Karuvaki and the legend of the Nagas (discussed in forthcoming pages) it will be apparent that the fishermen community and the seafarers would have been looking after the navy of Kalinga leading to various maritime activities. Similarly, the tribals must have formed a part of the militia of Kalinga to fight against the enemies. This makes it clear that different categories of people were sending their own representatives to the Kalingan confederacy for the smooth discharge of its administration.

Attention can be drawn towards the decision of Asoka not to conquer the frontier of Kalinga where tribal people lived. Why did he do so ? This was sheer diplomacy of Asoka as he was never a changed man after the Kalinga War. Turning back, let us discuss the royal policy of Magadha. *Bhedaniti* was the main principle or true royal policy of Magadha. This had been well reflected from the time of Ajatasatru– who had deputed his minister Vassakara to sow the seeds of disension among the Lichhavis and was ultimately successful in subduing them. This *Bhedaniti* has also been very elaborately discussed in Kautilya's *Arthasastra* and for conquering territories, Asoka had laid stress on it. Most probably, Asoka applied this principle in Kalinga. He took the people of *atavika* kingdom into confidence and had a secret pact with them and defeated the chief(s) of coastal area and did not invade the territory of these tribal groups of the *atavika* kingdom. Indirectly, this provides a clue that there was democracy in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion in 261 B.C.

One of the causes of the Kalinga War as suggested by Lama Taranath was the stealing away of Asoka's jewels by the Nagas whom Professor P.H.L. Eggermont has identified with the seafaring people of Kalinga. Asoka had attacked Kalinga to punish them. Historians generally tend to identify the Nagas with the fisherman community (Karuvaki is described as the daughter of the head of the fisherman community in coastal Orissa) because nowhere in history the *Sadhavas* (merchants) are identified with the fisherman community. Thus, it may be presumed that the Nagas were a part of the Kalingan confederacy.

Rock Edict XIII also provides a clue for the existence of a *Samgha* form of government in Kalinga. A question is very often asked- why didn't Asoka mention the name of the king of Kalinga in this Rock Edict ? One plausible suggestion a historian may give is that had there been one king in the Kalingan republic, it would have been definitely mentioned. Since, there were many heads of Kalingan confederacy, it might not have been possible on the part of Asoka to remember such names and to mention them in the Edict. This suggests that there was some sort of democracy in Kalinga where different rulers ruled at a time.

In the light of the above discussion, it can be suggested that there was democracy or republicanism or *Samgha* form of government in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion. Here it should be borne in mind that a historian cannot create history by stretching his imagination.

For him some source is indispensable. Further, a historian should be free from preconceived notions, otherwise there would be historical bias. At this point let us analyse alternatively, whether there was monarchy in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion.

Right from the days of the *Mahabharata* (1500-1300 B.C.) till the sixth century B.C. Monarchy was the prevalent form of government in Kalinga. The *Vayu, Matsya* and the *Brahmanda Puranas* mention that during that period, the Kurus, Maithilas, Surasenas, the Brahadrathas, Iksvakus, Vitihotras, etc. were very important dynasties. Thirty-two Kshatriya kings who were contemporary of the above dynasties ruled over Kalinga during the period under review. The *Mahagovinda Suttanta* of *Digha Nikaya* very well describes Kalinga as one of the monarchical states with six other contemporary states like Assaka, Avanti, Sovira, Videha, Anga and Kasi. King Sattabhu of Kalinga was contemporaneous with Brahmadatta of Assaka, Vessabhu of Avanti, Bharata of Sovira, Renu of Videha and Dhataratha of Kasi. The next rulers of Kalinga were Nalikira, Karakandu, Kalinga I, Mahakalinga and Kalinga II, etc. From the time of *Mahabharata* War till the rule of Mahapadmananda in Magadha, Kalinga was a monarchical state based on a paternal conception. Around 350 B.C. Kalinga was annexed to Magadhan empire during the period of Mahapadmananda and taking the chance of the revolt against Dhanananda by Kautilya and Chandragupta the Kalingans, perhaps, slipped away from the fold of Magadhan imperialism and were independent till their land was conquered by Asoka in 261 B. C. Again with the decline of the Mauryas, Kalinga did not project any trace of democratic or republican set up. The excavation at Sisupalagarh (near Bhubaneswar) brings to light the remains of a grand palace which historians think to be of king Kharavela of second or first century B. C. After that, monarchy was the prevalent form of government in Kalinga out and out.

Now let us discuss whether there was monarchy in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion from historiographical point of view. Starting from *Mahabharata* War till the rule of the Nandas, monarchy was the prevalent form of government. After the Mauryan rule (subsequent Sunga rule) was over from the land, we find again monarchy as its usual form of government. During this short interregnum between Asoka's invasion and coming of the Mahameghavahanas, was it possible on the part of the people of Kalinga to go for a new experiment of democratic set up ? Any sensible observer will say an emphatic 'no' to this proposition.

Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri has indirectly suggested that there was kingship in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion. He cites the description of Pliny in this way.

> "......... the tribes called *Calingae* are nearest the sea. Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in procinct of war......"

From this description Raychaudhuri thinks that the increase of Kalinga army might make it powerful which would be a potent threat to the Magadhan imperialism. So Asoka decided to attack *Calingae*, described by pliny, who are definitely the people or subjects of the Kalingan king. It conclusively suggests that there was monarchy in Kalinga at that time.

Another instance may be cited here. In Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsam*, the king of Kalinga has been addressed as *Mahodadhi Pati* (Lord of Ocean). This is an address to a single king. Had democratic set up existed in Kalinga, the address to different kings could have been found in that book ? It definitely suggests that there was monarchy in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion. Kautilya's *Arthasastra* has not also informed, in any way, that there was democracy in Kalinga. Now a question may arise– Had Kautilya referred to monarchy as a form of government prevalent in Kalinga ? We all know that the answer would be 'no'. Now let us analyse the fact deeply– Why didn't Kautilya write about monarchy ? It was only because the Kingdom of Kalinga was not an exception to the existing form of government in Magadha which was monarchy.

Let us analyse the case of the Nagas and the people of the *atavika* kingdom. These people appear to be inferior to the king. In their various capacities they might be helping the king of Kalinga. The Nagas might be helping the king in maritime trade and commerce or in forming a part of the royal navy of Kalinga. In a similar vein, the people of the *atavika* kingdom might be helping the king in forming a part of the infantry of Kalinga.

Now the fact "Why Asoka did not mention the name(s) of the king(s) of Kalinga in his Rock Edict XIII" may be analysed. The reason may not be that he could not remember the names of the tribal chiefs. The reason is the other way round. Asoka mentioned several kings of the world in this Edict; but he did not mention the name of even a single king of Kalinga. It was because the king of Kalinga was not an illustrious one befitting the status of the other kings mentioned in the edict. He was probably a shadowy figure and the mention of his name would have brought disgrace to a monarch like Asoka. As pointed out earlier, due to diplomatic considerations, Asoka had installed Rock Edict XIII in Shahbazgarhi (in Pakistan) giving imaginary casualties of the Kalinga War to strike terror in the minds of the foreign aggressors. Deliberately he had ignored the name of the king of Kalinga because it would not crown him with any credit on the one hand, and people would not feel the gravity of that edict, on the other. The diplomatic manoeuvre of Asoka in installing the Rock Edict XIII at Shahbazgarhi indirectly proves that there was monarchy in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion.

The anecdote regarding Karuvaki throws a good deal of light on the fact proving the prevalence of monarchical form of government in Kalinga. A popular legend is current among the fisherman community in coastal Orissa that Asoka was infactuated by the beauty of Karuvaki, the daughter of a fisherman and the fiancee of the Kalinga prince for which he fought the war with Kalinga. This fact has been corroborated from the Queen's Edict of Asoka where karuvaki figures as his second queen. This proves that monarchy was the form of government in Kalinga and the son of that king wanted to marry Karuvaki.

Kharavela's Hatigumpha inscription provides a clue for the prevalence of monarchy in Kalinga during the period under review. Line 12 of this inscription states that defeating Bahasatimita, the king of Anga and Magadha, Kharavela brought back Kalinga Jina from Magadha which had been taken away from Kalinga by king Nanda. From this inscription it is proved that Kharavela patronised Jainism which was deeply related with his statecraft. So, it may be presumed that before him there was Jainism in Kalinga. In order to be popular among his subjects, Kharavela had brought back Kalinga Jina from Magadha. If a democratic set up would have prevalied in Kalinga before Kharavela, different tribal chiefs would have worshipped various tribal deities and they would not have accepted Jainism which was practised by the kings and the subjects of Kalinga. Further, in ancient Indian histroy it is seldom seen that the tribals and aboriginals accepted Jainism. Thus it is presumed that Kalinga Jina was the deity of Kalinga and most probably, universally accepted. This proves that monarchy existed in Kalinga before Kharavela. Kharavela accepted this region as the religion of the state (which was previously prevalent) in order to satisfy his subjects.

In the final round of analysis, let us discuss the possibility of the application of *Bhedaniti* by Asoka thereby bringing the people of *atavika* kingdom into his side and defeating the people of coastal area of Kalinga. This seems very much imaginary because no contemporary source, either literary or inscriptional, throws any light on it.

Really, it is a herculean task to conclude whether there was democracy or monarchy in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion. It is, no doubt, a controversial theme. Still, the analysis of various sources revealing the non-existence of democratic set up before Kalinga war and after Maurya-Sunga period, the anecdote of Karuvaki, the legend of the Nagas, the bringing back of Kalinga Jina from Magadha by Kharavela reflected in the Hatigumpha inscription conclusively proves that there was monarchical form of government in Kalinga during Asoka's invasion of 261 B. C. Thus, the existence of any democractic form of government in Kalinga by that time is a remote possibility.

ADMINISTRATION OF KALINGA UNDER ASOKA

With the victory of Asoka in the Kalinga war. Kalinga was annexed to Magadhan empire and it constituted its fifth province. The other four provinces of the empire were Prachya, Uttarapatha, Avanti and Dakshinapatha having their capitals at Magadha, Takshasila, Ujjaini and Suvarnagiri respectively. Tosali was the capital of Kalinga and the centre of political activities for the Mauryan administration in Kalinga. Two separate Kalinga edicts of Asoka found at Dhauli and Jaugarh enumerate the pattern of Mauryan administration for the province of kalinga.

Appointment of Viceroy and Ministers

As the Kalingans had exhibited their violent protest against the Mouryan authority in the Kalinga war, Asoka wanted to give them a healing touch by providing an administration tinged with mercy and liberalism. Although, he appointed a prince of royal blood as Viceroy to look after the administration of Kalinga, he also devoted his heart and soul to the smooth running of administration in Kalinga. As per the administration gathered from separate Rock Edict I found from Dhauli, Asoka appointed a body of ministers to aid and advise the Kumara Viceroy of Kalinga and to check balance his administrative powers.

Appointment of Dharma Mahamatras

In other parts of his empire, Asoka had given authority to the Viceroys to appoint Dharma Mahamatras on triennial tours inside the empire to impart religious instruction to the people. In case of Kalinga, however, the Viceroy had no such authority. Asoka took keen interest in appointing the *Dharma Mahamatras* specially for Kalinga. This shows that emperor Asoka had his personal involvement in the administration of Kalinga even though he had appointed Viceroy to look after the administration of Kalinga.

Paternal Concept of Kingship

Asoka, after Kalinga war, was a changed man (though outwardly). He tried to impress upon the people of Kalinga that his heart deeply longed for his Kalingan subjects. His deep sense of belongingness to his subjects in Kalinga is revealed from separate Rock Edict I (Dhauli) as follows–

> "Saba Manise Paja mama Atha Pajaye ichhami hakam Kimti savena hita sukhena hidalokika Pala lokike yujebuti tatha sava muninesu Pi ichhami hakam"

It means–

> "All men are my children (subjects). As I desire for my own children bliss and happiness in this world and the other, the same I also desire for all my men (subjects)".

Further, Asoka directed and advised the officials in Kalinga to be humane towards the subjects of Kalinga. In Dhauli Edict, he states–

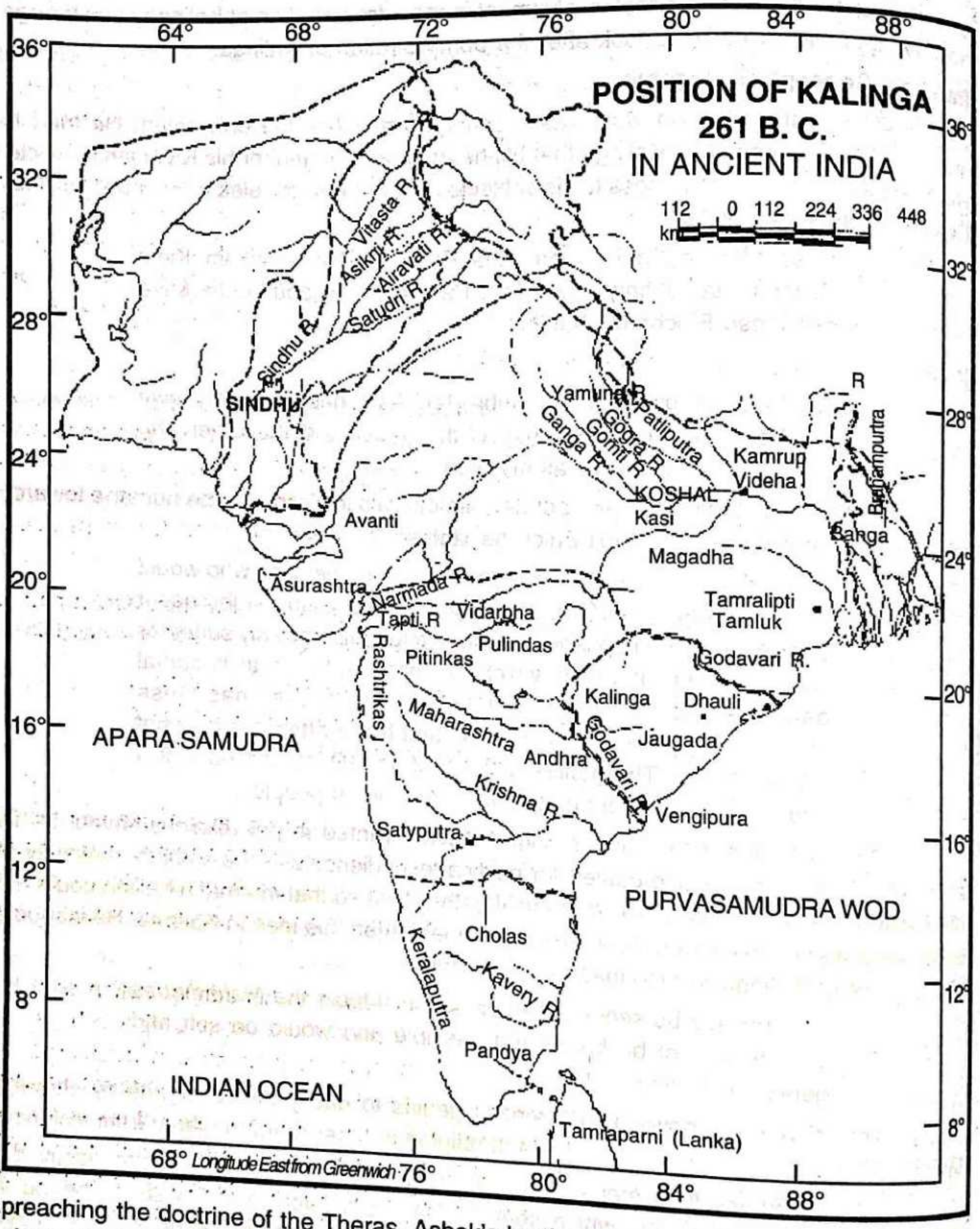
> "In the affairs of administration, there might be persons who would suffer imprisonment or coercion. In that also might occur accidental death in prison and many might also heavily suffer for that .... the attributes which are not conducive to impartial dealings are malignity, irascibiliy, harshness, hastiness etc............... you all must strive so that these attributes may not be in you ..... The judicial officer (of Tosali) should not inflict sudden imprisonment on sudden coercion on people".

Administration with religious tinge : Asoka wanted to put religious flavour in his administration, as discussed earlier, for political expediency and the smooth continuity of his regime. He had banned *Samaja* (social gatherings) so that internal rebellion could not take place against him. Very cunningly, he implemented this idea in Kalinga. He instructs his officers of Kalinga in his Dhauli Edict as follows–

> "....... I would be sending on quinquennial tours the *Mahamatras* who would not be harsh and irascible and would be soft and gentle in dealings........"

This obviously shows his diplomatic genius to pacify the Kalingans by showing lavish generosity to them under the garb of religion in order to refrain them from violence.

Further, Asoka took steps for the promotion of *Dharma* in order to pacify the revolting and unruly elements which seem to have persisted in the post-war period in Kalinga. When peace was resorted under the smooth administration of Viceroy in Kalinga, Buddhist missionaries attempted to carry out the religious activities of the *Samgha* in Kalinga. It became the meeting place of the doctrines propagated by the protagonists of the three Buddhist schools- *viz*, the Theravada, Sarvastivade and Mahasamghika. Acharya Dharmarakkhita, the propagator of Theravada came to Kalinga to spend his last days in


POSITION OF KALINGA
261 B. C.
IN ANCIENT INDIA
112 0 112 224 336 448
km
64°
68°
72°
76°
80°
84°
88°
36°
32°
28°
24°
20°
16°
12°
8°
Vitasta R.
Asikni R.
Airavati R.
Satudri R.
Sindhu R.
SINDHU
Yamuna R.
Patliputra
Gogra R.
Gomti R.
Ganga R.
Kamrup
Videha
Brahmputra
R
KOSHAL
Kasi
Banga
Magadha
Avanti
Asurashtra
Narmada R.
Tapti R
Vidarbha
Tamralipti
Tamluk
Pulindas
Pitinkas
Rashtrikas
Godavari R.
Kalinga
Dhauli
Maharashtra
Godavari R.
Jaugada
Andhra
APARA SAMUDRA
Krishna R.
Vengipura
Satyputra
PURVASAMUDRA WOD
Cholas
Keralaputra
Kavery R.
Pandya
INDIAN OCEAN
Tamraparni (Lanka)
68° Longitude East from Greenwich 76°
80°
84°
88°

preaching the doctrine of the Theras. Ashok's brother Tissa also selected Kalinga as his place of retirement and Asoka built a monastery Bhojakagiri Vihara at Kalinga. Acharya Mahadeva, the propounder of the Mahasamghika doctrine is also known to have visited Kalinga. Dhitika Kumara, the spiritual successor of Upagupta also visited Kalinga for the propagation of Sarvastivada doctrine. In the Post-Asokan period also Sarvastivada faith had an upper hand in Kalinga.

Well organised bureaucracy

Asoka appointed a well organised bureaucracy to help the Viceroy in Kalinga. The important officers during Asoka's time were the *Mahamatras, Rajukas, Yuktas, Vachabhumikas, Antamahamatras, Ithijakamahamatras, Dharma Mahamatras* etc. *Antamahamatras* were the ministers of the border provinces and the Mahamatras of Tosali and Samapa probably belonged to this cateogry. For Kalinga, as discussed earlier, *Dhama Mahamatras* were appointed by Asoka personally. They were employed to look after the spiritual and moral upliftment of people. As the *Rajukas* were in charge of welfare of the Janapadas and were competent enough with absolute power in matters of reward and punishment, they might have played a dominant role in the administration of Kalinga.

Motive of Asoka's administration in Kalinga

What prompted Asoka to be so careful about the subjects of Kalinga ? The answer is very simple. Asoka was a shrewd diplomat. He had very well realised that with annexation of Kalinga, he had greatly hurt the sentiment of the Kalingans. That could only be pacified by applying soothing balm on their wounded sentiment in the form of administrative leniency. So, Asoka became gracious enough to undertake many welfare projects for the people of Kalinga to give them a healing touch.

Behind this paternal figure projected before the people of Kalinga, Asoka had an iron will to instil fear in the mind of his subjects. In his Rock Edict XIII, he proclaims–

> "......... To these *Atavi* people, who are residing in the empire of the *Devanampiya* (Beloved of the Gods) has power even in his remorse and he tells them to desist from doing harm, as otherwise they will be killed."

Further, it is gleaned from separate Rock Edict II (Jaugad) that Asoka advises his officials in Kalinga saying that there might be people who would be arrested and coerced and might either die or suffer long in prison. This indirectly shows Asoka's coercive design to deal with the people of Kalinga, if situation demands, thereby making them fearful and subservient to the whims of Asoka.

Anyway, the religious flavour which Asoka added to his administration after the Kalinga War, made him more popular not only in India but also abroad. Through his two separate Kalinga Edicts, he tried to project his paternal concept of kingship before the people of Kalinga. The preaching of Buddhism and the frequent visits of *Dharma Mahamatras* pacified the heroic minds of the Kalingans detracting them from the spirit of revolt against Asokan authority. But with the death of Asoka, his weak successors failed stupendously to maintain the pattern of administration in Kalinga so consciously designed by Asoka. The martial spirit of the Kalingans again revived and it is found that the mighty Kharavela of Kalinga very successfully avenged this defeat of Kalinga by defeating Bahasatimita, the king of Anga and Magadha, planting the victorious banner of Kalinga over Magadha.

●

Chapter – 4

MAHAMEGHAVAHANA AIRA KHARAVELA

After Kalinga War, the history of Orissa is obscure. A flood of light is focussed upon this dark period of Orissan history with the discovery of Hatigumpha inscription at Udayagiri in Bhubaneswar. The facts described in this inscription undoubtedly proves that its author Kharavela, the mighty monarch was a remarkable figure in the contemporary India. His mighty sword blasted the vanity of Kalinga's age-old enemy Magadha and subjugated a vast area under Kalingan suzerainty. Under his reign Kalinga reached the pinnacle of celebrity. If there was any golden period in the annals of ancient Orissan history, if Kalinga ever basked in the golden glow of prosperity with a sense of pride and jubilation, it was nothing than the glorious region period of Kharavela. The facts narrated in the Hatigumpha inscription has been amply corroborated by the excavation at Sisupalagarh near Bhubaneswar and through some figures engraved in different caves at Udyagiri.

Hatigumpha Inscription

Hatigumpha inscription at Udayagiri was discovered in 1820 by A. Starling who published it in his book *An Account of Geographical Statistical and Historical of Orissa or Cuttack*. This inscription was engraved in Brahmi script and Prakrit language. Subsequently, James Prinsep, M. Kittoe, A. Cunningham, G. Buhler, T. B. Block, Keil Horn, J. H. Fleet, H. Luder, F. W Thomas, Sten Konow, R.K. Banerji, K. P. Jayswal, B. M. Barua and D.C. Sircar have analysed the facts contained in it. Some portions of this inscription had been badly damaged. This, of course, led historians to furnish several interpretations of its facts. Prof. N. K. Sahu in 1964 gave some new idea regarding the reading of this inscription in several places in his monumental work *Utkal University History of Orissa Vol-I.* Prof. K. C. Panigrahi has also given his critical analysis on certain facts of this inscription analysed by several historians. Still the views of some notable historians are to be taken into consideration after due verification and critical scrutiny. The inscription furnishes a detailed account of the career and thirteen years achievements of Kharavela in a chronological sequence. No other inscription of India describes so vividly and consistantly the career and achievements of a ruler as has been described in the Hatigumpha inscription.

Early career of Kharavela

Kharavela was the third ruler of the Cheti or Chedi dynasty. The country of the Chedis roughly corresponds to the modern Bundelkhand. Its capital was *Sotthivatinagara* which is probably identical with Suktimati of the *Mahabharata*. Prof. N.K. Sahu's attempt to identify Cheti dynasty ruling on the bank of Suk-Tel river in Bolangir, is not to be taken into consideration as its location in ancient times shows that it layed midway between the kingdom of the Kurus and the Vatsas. The founder of this dynasty was Mahameghavahana, a descendant of ancient Chedi monarch Vasu identified with Vasu Uparichara of the *Mahabharata*. He was the grand father of Kharavela and in the absence of the description on Kharavela's father, nothing can be furnished about him. The attempt of R. L. Mitra and K .P. Jayswal to describe Kharavela's dynasty as Aira (the king and the founder of the dynasty of the same name) is certainly futile because 'Aira' is designed in the inscription for 'Arya' which most of the historians including the author agree.

In the currents and cross-currents among historians, the date of Kharavela's accession is to be accepted somewhere in the first century, B. C., either 41 or 40 B.C. The first fourteen years of Kharavela's life were spent in games befitting to the career of a young prince (*Darasavasani Siri Kadara Sarirabata Kidita Kumar Kidika*). During his boyhood as a young prince, he received proper education in literature (*Lekha*), Coinage (Rupa), Mathematics (*Ganana*), law (*Vyavahara*) and administration or regulation of the country (*Vidhi*). The line of the Hatigumpha inscription thus runs– "*Tato Lekha-rupa-ganana Vyavahara-Vidhi-Visaradena Savavija Vadatena Navavasani Yovarajam.*" He ruled as crown-prince (yuvaraja) for nine years. At the completion of twenty-fourth year, he was corronated as the *Maharaja* of Kalinga.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF KHARAVELA

First Regnal Year

With Kharavela's coronation, in the very first year of his reign, he repaired the gates, ramparts and structures of Kalinganagari (modern Sisupalagarh) which had been severely damaged by cyclone. He built the embankments for the pools that contained cool (clear) water. He rearranged the damaged gardens and parks. For this he spent 35,000,00 coins and made his subjects glad and cheerful. (*Abhisita mato cha Padhamevase Vata vihita gopura pakara nivesanam patisam Kharayati Kalinganagari Khivira [.] sitala tadaga padiyo cha Vandapayati Savuyana pa [ti] Samthapanam cha Karayati Panatisahisatashahashi pakatiyo cha ranjayati*). This fact has been amply corroborated with the excavation at Sisupalagarh that brings out the remnants of defensive ramparts gateways, high towers etc. It shows king Kharavela's benevolent and artistic mind which he implemented into practice by doing such works in the very first year of his reign.

Second Year

Kharavela's imperial ambition took a turn in the very second year of his reign. By that time the Satavahana dynasty was very powerful in the Deccan. It was ruling in Maharastra region with its headquarters at Nasik. Its powerful ruler was Satakarni-I. As both the Chedis and Satavahanas rose to political power almost simultaneously, a clash between them for the bid of supremacy was inevitable.

Without caring the power of Satakarni, Kharavela dispatched to the western direction of his empire i.e. Deccan his grand army consisting of cavalry, elephantry, infantry and Chariots (*Dutiye Cha Vase acitayata Satakannim Pacchimadisam haya-gaja-radha vahulam dandam Pathapayati*). The vast army of Kharavela marched upto the river Krishna and stormed the city of Asika, the stronghold of the Satavahanas. (*Kanhavena gataya cha Senaya vitasiti Assika nagaram*). The concrete result of this war is not mentioned in the Hatigumpha inscription. Probably, Kharavela suffered reverses at the hand of Satakarni.

Here, it will be worth while to discuss about Satakarni in brief. Satakarni is definitely a Satavahana ruler but whether he is Satakarni I or Satakarni II ? After paleographical analysis, Buhler says that king Satakarni, 'Lord of the West' is the same Satakarni I of the Nanaghat inscription of his queen Nayanika (Naganika). This analysis of Buhler is accepted to a greater extent and cannot possibly be denied because with the disintegration of the grand Mauryan empire, the Sungas, Chedis (Chetis) and the Satavahanas gained political ascendancy almost at the same point of time. It might be a fact that Kharavela was defeated at the hands of Satakarni I. Had it not been so, his glory in the second year would have been reflected in the Hatigumpha inscription. However, this defeat did not supress the indomitable desire of Kharavela for conquest which will be discussed in the foregoing pages.

Third Year

Kalinganagari, the capital of Kharavela was overwhelmed with joy and jubilation in his third regnal year. Kharavela was proficient in all arts of music and dance. He displayed it in that very year. He organised various performances where dance and music, both vocal and instrumental, took place. He also arranged ceremonials and social gatherings in which feast and merrymaking etc. formed part. With such activities and social performance the metropolis of Kalinga danced with joy. (*Tatiye punavase, Gandava Veda budho dapanatagita. Vadita Sandasanahi ussava samaja Karapanahi cha kidapayati nagarim*). A scene from Ranigumpha shows the dance and song programme.

Why Kharavela did so in his third regnal year ? Two explanations can be furnished for this. Perhaps, he won the battle which he fouhgt with Satakarni I of Deccan in his second regnal year and arranged such performances to celebrate the victory. Secondly, he did it in order to instil joy in the minds of the people of Kalinga, in general, and his army, in particular, to forget the discomfiture at the hands of Satakarni so that the army would regain the mental strength again for further conquest. The latter explanation seems more plausible. It is only because, it has been inferred previously that Kharavela was defeated in his first Deccan War though he gained some initial success. So, naturally, for the satisfaction of his own mind, the mind of his army and the people of Kalinga in general, Kharavela resorted to such singing-dancing programme marked with joy and jubilation.

Fourth Year

In this year, the war-drum of Kalinga was heard again. Kharavela mobilised his army and marched towards the Deccan again. The territory of the Rathikas and Bhojakas lying respectively to the south and north of Nasik region were conquered. The Rathika (Rastrika) and Bhojaka chiefs "with their crowns cast off, their umbrella and royal insignia thrown aside and their jewellery and wealth confiscated were made to pay obeisance at the feet of Kharavela, the victor" (...... *nikhita Chhata Vinagare hita ratana sapateye sava Rathika-Bhojake pade Vandapayati*).

The intention of Kharavela in crushing the Vidyadhara territory is crystal clear. Perhaps, the Rathikas and Bhojakas would have helped the Satavahanas in the previous battle against Kharavela. So, Kharavela did not give them breathing space and crushed in to. Along with the Rathikas and the Bhojakas, the widow queen Nayanika who had assumed power after the demise of Satakarni I would have surrendered herself with her two sons- Saktisri and Vedasri before Kharavela. Of course, there is no such narration in the Hatigumpha inscription. It is simply a mere assumption on the ground that Satavahana power suffered temporary eclipse after Satakarni I. At this juncture, Kharavela might have caused a potent threat to this empire by his grand victory over the Vidyadhara territory which showed alleginance to the Satavahanas. After crushing the Vidyadharas, he must not have spared the Satavahanas.

Fifth Year

The role of Kharavela as a benevolent king is reflected in his fifth regnal year. In this year, Kharavela extended the canal from the Tansulia road upto Kalinganagari– the canal which had been excavated 300 or 103 years before by king Nanda (a Nanda king) for the purpose of irrigation.(*Panchamecha dani vase Nandaraja tivasasata oghatitam Tanasuliya vata panadi nagari Pavesa [ya] ti...*)

Controversy prevails over the identification of Nandaraja. Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri and several other historians do not accept the fact that the Nandaraja of Hatigumpha inscription was Asoka. On the other hand, Prof. K. C. Panigrahi holds the view that Nandaraja may be identified with Asoka because he would have constructed a canal in Kalinga, a newly acquired province for which he had shown his special longing. Again in his view, Asoka was the same Nandaraja who had taken away the honoured seat of Jaina from this land as a war trophy. However, the present author has his own reservation over the matter. No doubt, Kalinga was conquered by Asoka, but he changed himself from *Chandasoka* to *Dharmasoka* (though it was an outward show as discussed earlier) immediately after Kalinga War. Was it further possible on his part to take war trophy (Kalinga Jaina) from a land which had changed him (though he posed as such) thereby humiliating its people (the Kalingans) again and incurring their displeasure ? A shrewd diplomat like Asoka would have never done it thereby inviting popular discontentment and uprising of his Kalingan subjects.

From the *Puranas*, it is known that Mahapadma Nanda was a whimscal and oppressive ruler of the dynasty. So, Prof. Panigrahi tends to conclude that Mahapadma would not have undertaken such irrigation project for the people of Kalinga and further, he would not have taken the image of Jina from Kalinga. After due analysis, it can be stated that since Mahapadma was a whimscal ruler, he would have undertaken such a project of digging a canal towards the close of his reign to satisfy the Kalingans and to keep them in tact for not raising the banner of revolt against his regime and to secure his own position. As there is obvious reference to the subjugation of Kalinga by Magadha under the Nanda rule (Alexander's historians refer to the big elephants of *Gangaridie* i.e. Kalinga belonging to Dhana Nanda, which were a constant source of fear to the Greek army), so Dhana

Nanda, as oppressive he was, must have taken Kalinga Jina as a war trophy and as a symbol of his authority (the authority of a ruler who followed Brahmanism) over the people of this land (the people who were perhaps followers of Jainism).

A simple question, now the author puts forth before the readers that why Asoka be at all referred as 'Nanda' in the Hatigumpha inscription and not 'Maurya' as because the Mauryan dynasty was not a new one during Kharavela's reign and Asoka was the third ruler of that dynasty. It was a very well known fact by that time. Thus, Nanda king of the Hatigumpha inscription what Prof. Panigrahi suggests as Asoka cannot be accepted in the light of the above discussion. That 'Nandaraja' of the Hatigumpha inscription can be, with a tolerable degree of certainty, identified with Mahapadma Nanda in the light of the above discussion.

Sixth Year

In the sixth year of his reign, Kharavela remitted taxes and benevolences both in urban and rural area of his kingdom. (*Abhisite cha [chhathe vase] raja seyam Samdamsayam to save Karavana anugaha anekani satasahasahi visajati Pora janapadam.*) This clearly shows that the treasury of Kharavela was overflowed with wealth. As a benevolent ruler, he took up this task of remitting taxes to his beloved subjects to win their hearts.

Seventh Year

In this year, Kharavela attained fatherhood as his chief queen known by the name 'the queen of Vajiraghara' gave birth to a son. *(Satnum Cha vasam pasasato Vajiraghara vi ... [ku] mara....).*

Eighth Year

Again, in the eighth year, Kharavela led an expedition to the north and attacked Rajagriha and devastated Gorathagiri. His triumph at Rajagriha created fear among the yavanas who were then in occupation of Mathura. After their success in that region, they had a plan to attack Magadha, Hearing the exploits of Kharavela, the yavana king fled away from Mathura. The yavana ruler, whose name is read doubtfully as 'Dimita' or 'Dimata' might be Demitrius or Minandar as opined by several scholars. (*Athame cha vase mahati senaya mahata... gradha girim ghatapayita rajagraham upapidapayati ... apayato yavanaraja [Di] ma [ta] Yachhati...... palabavara*). He reached Mathura and drove the Yavanas wasy from that place He brought a branch of the sacred *Kalva Vriksha* with leaves. He distributed the wealth among the households Brahmins, Sramanas, Arhats etc. What he had brought form Mathura (*Savagharavasa Sabagahanam cha Karayitum Brahmanas Jaya-Pariharam datati Arhata................*)

Ninth Year

In his ninth regnal year, he distributed the wealth gained from exploits among the Brahmins and Arhats of his empire. In order to commemorate his victory, he built the 'Great Victory Palace' (*Mahavijaya Prasadam*) by spending 38,000,00 coins (.... *Navame cha vase .... Raja nivasam Mahavijaya Prasadam Karayati Athatisaya satasahasehi*).

Tenth Year

In this year, Kharavela, who was the embodiment of the principles of politics, diplomacy and peace directed the army towards North India for conquest but the result is obscure (*Dasama cha ase danda samadhi samamayo uradhavas..... Karapayati*).

Eleventh Year

In the eleventh year, Kharavela ploughed Pithunda, established by his ancestors by a plough driven by asses. (*Ekadasame cha vase.... Yuvaraja nivestiam Pithundam gadaunamgalena Kasayati*). Further, in the same year, Kharavela fought a severe war against the Tamil confederacy (consisting of Cholas, Pandyas, Keraliputras, Satyaputras and Tamraparni). He destroyed this confederacy and secured from its members jewels, pearls and precious stones as a symbol of allegiance. (*Janapada bhavanam cha terasavasasata Katam bhidati tamari deha samghatam*).

Twelfth Year

In the twelfth regnal year, Kharavela for the third time led campaign towards the north with a vast army and proceeded upto north-west India. By his aggressive march, he compelled the Indo-Greek rulers for submission who readily surrendered to Kharavela out of fear. He encamped on the river bank of the Ganges and his elephants and horses drank water from the river. This sight struck fear in the mind of the Magadhan people. Bahasatimita (Brihaspatimitra), the king of Anga and Magadha, surrendered at the feet of Kharavela without waging any war. Kharavela brought back from Magadha the image of Kalinga Jina as trophy of his victory which was taken 300 or 103 years before by a Nanda king. He also brought a vast treasure of wealth from Anga and Magadha. (*Varasame Cha vase ... [sata] saha sehi Vitasayati Uttarapadha rajano... Magadhanam cha vipulam bhayam janeto hathasam Gamgaya Payayati. Magadham cha Rajanam Bahasatimitam pade Vandapayati. Nandaraja nitam Kalinga Jinam Samnivesam... [Raja] gaharatana Pariharehi Anga Magadhavasu cha nayati*).

Really Kharavela avanged the defeat of the Kalingans at the hand of the Nanda King who had taken away the Jina image from Kalinga. The scene of Bahasatimita's surrendering at the feet of Kharavela is found in the Ranigumpha of Udayagiri. A scene from the Manchapuri cave shows the installation of Kalinga Jina by Kharavela. The Kalinga Jina is generally identified with Rishavanatha, the first Jaina Tirthankara.

In this year, Kharavela built beautiful *gopura* and *sikhara* by spending 100 *Visika*. The king of Pandya brought pearls and gems that worth 1,000,00 coins to present Kharavela. (*.... [ka] tu jathara [la] khila gopurani siharani nivesayati sata visikanam Parihare hi.....Pandaraja edani anekani muta maniratanani aharapayati idha satasa [hasani]*).

Thirteenth Year

In the thirteenth year of his reign, Kharavela, by the request of the queen of Simhapatha built 117 (1700 ? not possible) caves at *Kumari Parvata* (Udayagiri) for Jaina monks, monks of other religion, sheers and Arhats who came from distant places to take rest. This was his noble service rendered to the Jaina and other monks. He revived the art and architecture of ancient Kalinga (Mukhiya Kala) which was going to be extinguished. In different caves of Udaygiri and Khandagiri the images of Jaina Tirthankaras, trees, creepers, images of royal servants were built by him in that year. On the floor meant for the Brahmins, Sramanas, Arhats, the Pillares decorated with emerld were fixed. Thus ruled the *Kshemaraja, Buddharaja, Bhikshuraja,* the mighty monarch Kharavela.

KHARAVELA– AN ESTIMATE

Mahameghavahana Aira Kharavela was a redoubtable warrior out and out. He carried on arms upto Mathura subjugating Magadha. He also marched towards the Tamil country crushing the Rathikas, Bhojakas, Satavahanas and thereby destroying the Tamil confederacy. He drove away the Indo-Greeks from Mathura and brought Magadha, the age-old enemy of Kalinga, under his knee. Undoubtedly, he was a recognised hero both in North and South India during his time.

Kharavela was a benevolent ruler. He always thought for the welfare of his subjects. Himself proficient in music, he often entertained his subjects with musical and dance performance, social gatherings, feasts etc. as is reflected in his third regnal year. For the benefit of people and agriculture, he enlarged an irrigation canal excavated by a Nanda King. As discussed earlier, he also remitted taxes to his subjects and distributed wealth among the Brahmanas.

Kharavela was a great builder. He had repaired Kalinganagari, the capital city, which was devastated by a terrible cyclone. He rebuilt numerous gates, walls and buildings and restored all the gardens. His '*Mahavijaya prasadam*' (the great victory palace) shows his great constructive skill.

He was an able administrator too. From the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri the figure of royal servants like *Senapati, Bhandagarika, Dandapasika, Dauvarika, Pratihari* etc. can be identified. It was definite that a centralised administration tinged with benevolence was prevalent during his reign period.

Trade and commerce received a great fill up during the reign period of Kharavela. The excavation at Sisupalagarh reveals this fact. A city named Pithunda mentioned in the *Uttaradhyayana* has been identified with the Pithundra metropolis of Ptolemy famous as a port-city. The prosperity of Kalinga during Kharavela was attained by the inland and martitime trade of Kalinga.

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Kharavela was a devout Jaina. The Hatighmpha inscription begins with the invocation– "Salutation to Arhats. Salutation to all Siddhas." (*Namo Arhatanam. Namo Savasiddhanam*). His bringing back of Kalinga Jina from Magadha and its installation in the Manchapuri cave of Udayagiri and his effort to build caves in the same hill for the resting of the Jina monks clearly prove that he was a Jaina by faith. He also showed toleration to other religious faiths. Thus, Kharavela was an embodiment of heroism, benevolence and religious catholicity.

The monuments of Udayagiri and excavation at Sisupalagarh together establish the fact that Chedi dynasty in Kalinga was at the pinnacle of celebrity during the reign period of Kharavela. Kalinga achieved freedom, Magadha was subdued, Decca was crushed, foreign aggressors were driven away, Jainism revied, trade and commerce flourished and all these were accomplished single handed by Kharavela. After him, the veil of darkness spread again over Kalingan history. Though Kamdapasiri (Kudapasiri), who styled himself as *Aira Maharaja Kalingadhipati* in the Manchapuri cave inscription was certainly one of the successors of Kharavela. Nothing is known about Prince Vadrekha (Vaduka) mentioned in another inscription of the same cave. It is unknown when and how the Chedi rule ended in Orissa; but the name of its illustrious ruler Kharavela is chanted with honour and glory even today by the proud Kalingans of this land.

Chapter – 5

GUPTA RULE IN ORISSA

The period that elapsed between the fall of the Kushanas and rise of the Guptas is regarded as the so called 'dark age' in the annals of ancient Indian history. The same darkness also pervaded the history of Orissa. On the eve of the South Indian campaign of Samudragupta (C-350 A.D.) Kalinga was fragmented into a number of petty principalities as suggested by an episode referred to in the Tamil epic *Manikekalai*. According to the description, two princes– Vasu and Kumara (two cousins) ruling respectively in Simhapura and Kapila in Kalinga fought each other vehemently. Thus, a disunited Kalinga could not offer a stubborn resistance to Samudragupta.

Samudra gupta's Campaign in South

The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta gives a vivid description of his South Indian campaign. In this campaign, he defeated the following rulers –

Mahendra : He was the king of Kokala. The historians generally identify Kosala with the present Raipur, Bilaspur and individed Sambalpur district.

Vyaghraraja : He was the king of Mahakantara. Historians tend to identify Mahakantara with the deep forest of individed Koraput and Kalahandi districts (*Dandakaranya*). Of course, Prof. R.S.Tripathy identifies Mahakantara with the forest of Gondwana. G. Ramdas takes, it to be the vast forest stretching between Ganjam and Visakhapatnam.

Mahendra : He was the ruler of Pistapura. Historians identify it with Pithapuram in the East Godavari district of Andhra.

Swamidatta : He was the ruler of Kottura. Historians have identified this place with Kothur hear mount mahendra of the present Gajapati district of Orissa.

Kubera : He was the ruler of Devarashtra. That place has been identified with yellamanchili taluk of Visakhapatnam district.

Kamana : He was the ruler of Erandapalla. Prof. K.P. Jayswal identifies it with a city of Ganjam. Dubreuli identifies it with Erandapalli of Chikacole District. Of course, G. Ramdas identifies it Yendipalli of Golkunda Taluk of Visakhapatnam district or Endipalli of Elora Taluk of West Godavari district.

Mantaraja : He was the king of Kaurala. Prof. S.K. Aiyangar identifies it with Khurda of Orissa. However Keilhorn places it Krishan and Godavari and Preferably identifies it Kollar lake. After the Discovery of the copper plate grant of Sarvapuriya King Narendra the idea has been changed. The description in this inscription as '*Mantarajabhukti*'. definitely has some relation with 'Mantaraja' of the Allahabad Pillar inscription. So, Ashvini Agrawal places this near the South Kosala.

Principles of Grahana, Moksha and Anugraha

However, these kingdoms were not annexed by Samudragupta as he had followed the principles of *grahana* (capture), *moksha* (release) and *anugraha* (re-instate). In his Southern Indian campaign as revealed from Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Accordingly, the rulers like Mahendra, Mantaraja, Vyaghraraja, Damana, Swamidatta and Kuvera got back their respective territories like Kosala, Korala, Mahakantara, Erandapalla, Kottura and Devarastra. No other Gupta ruler had ruled over Southern Indian territories Kalinga, then, never formed a part of the Gupta empire.

Mathara Rule and Gupta Era

Of course, Samudragupta's invasion had produced far reaching consequences over this land. It broke down the small states and paved the path for political unity of Kalinga under the great Mathara dynasty. The political supremacy of the mighty Matharas extended from Mahanadi in the north to Krisna in the south. So, Samudragupta's invasion of Kalinga, as suggested by some scholars, is not justified. Firstly, during the period of Samudragupta's South Indian campaign, Kalinga was independent as is evident from the rule of the great Matharas in this land. Secondly, the use of Gupta era in Orissa tempts scholars to opine that Gupta rule prevailed here. They cite the Sumandala copper plates of Maharaja Dharmaraja (Gupta era 250=570 A.D.) who was a feudatory of Gupta empire. This is erroneous because by 570 A.D. there was virtually no Gupta rule or ruler. Further, Gupta era has not only been used in Sumandala copper plates but also in Soro copper plates of Sambhuyasa (Gupta era 260=580 A.D.), the Kanasa copper plates of Lokavigraha (Gupta era 280=600 A.D.) and the Ganjam copper plates of Madhavaraja (Gupta era 300 = 620 A.D.).

The use of these Gupta era does not necessarily mean that Gupta rule existed in Orissa. On the other hand, it can be stated that since Gupta era was a very popular era used in various parts of India, Orissa was not an exception in this regard.

Gupta Coins

Some Gupta coins have been discovered from different parts of Orissa. Basing on that some historians opine that there was Gupta rule in Orissa. It should be taken with a pinch of salt. It is to be stated that persons who visited Orissa by that time for the purpose of pilgrimage might have brought these coins with them. As athe discovery of Puri-Kushana rule in Orissa, similarly Gupta coins found in Orissa, could not justify the Gupta rule in Orissa.

To think that Gupta rule prevailed over Orissa, will certainly be a misnomer. After Samudragupta, no Gupta ruler is found to have extended his sway in the southern direction. No Orissan inscription or literature bear the testimony of the Gupta rule in this land. With the fall of the Guptas, India witnessed the rise of Pushyabhuti dynasty of Thanesar. Harsavardhan, the illustrious ruler of this dynasty, in the course of his conquest extended his sway over the Kongoda *mandala* of Orissa.

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Chapter – 6

SUB-REGIONAL KINGDOMS IN THE GUPTA AND POST-GUPTA AGE

Samudra Gupta's southern Indian campaign brought a change in the prevailing political condition in the kingdom of Kosala, Mahakantara and Kalinga, Thus many small kingdoms rose in these regions after the departure of Samudra Gupta. Here is an analysis of those petty principalities which rose during the Gupta and post-Gupta period.

SUB-REGIONAL KINGDOMS DURING THE GUPTA PERIOD

The sub-regional kingdoms which grew in this land during the Gupta period were—

The Matharas of Sripura

The founder of Mathara dynasty was Visakhavarman. He established the dynasty in or around 350 A.D. at Sripura (near Parlakhemundi). Umavarman succeeded him to the throne who issued grants at sungara and Singhapuram (Mukhalingam and Singupuram in Andhra Pradesh) and Vardhamanapura. He assumed the title '*Kalingadhipati*'. His empire extended from mount Mahendra (Gajapati district of Orissa) to river Godavari. He was succeeded by Sankaravarman about whose achievement nothing is known.

The Matharas rose to the dizzy height during the reign of Shaktivarman (C-400-420 A.D.). He extended his sway between Mahanadi and Krishna. The Ningondi grant of his son Prabhanjan Varman reveals this fact. He was succeeded by Ananta Saktivarman who ruled about twenty-four years. After him his son Saktivarman ruled over the Mathara kingdom. He bore the brunt of the Vishnukundis of Vengi and lost the southern portion of his kingdom to them. Then Prabhanjana Varman occupied the throne about 450 A.D. He took up the title *'Sakala Kalingadhipati'* as is revealed from his Ningondi charter of Simhapura. The last ruler of this dynasty was Nanda Prabhanjanavarman who was defeated by the Vakataka ruler Harisena and the Mathara dynasty came to an end.

The Nalas of Kantara-Kosala

The Nalas who ruled in Kantara–Kosala region (Bastar-Koraput-Kalahandi tract) rose to powered around 350 A.D. They claimed their descent from the famous Nisada king Nala of *Mahabharata*. They had their cepital at Puskari, modern Podagarh in the present Nawarangpur district of Orissa. From a stone inscription of Podagarh, it is known that the Nalas used titles like *'Mahamahesvara-Mahasenasrita-Rajyavaibhava-Nala-nrupavamsa, Tripatakadvaja.'* It is presumed by historians that after the defeat of Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara by Samudra Gupta and after his departure, Vrisabhadhvaja or Vrisabharaja might have founded this dynasty.

Vrisabharaja was succeeded by his son Varaharaja (C-400-440 A.D.). He was a powerful ruler of the dynasty as has been revealed from his twenty-nine gold coins found in Edenga in Chhatisgarh. Bhavadatta Varman who succeeded Varaharaja was a famous ruler of this dynasty. He had issued the Rithapur copper plate grant from Nandivardhana (Nagardhan near Nagpur). This indicates that the Vakataka Capital Nandivardhana was ultimately occupied by the Nalas. As an empire builder, he extended his sway from Berar region of Maharastra in the west to Bilaspur (Chhatisgarh) in the east and Nawapara, Orissa) in the north-east.

Arthapatiraja succeeded his father Bhavadatta Varman. During his reign the Nala kingdom was eclipsed. The Vakataka ruler Prithvisena attacked the Nala kingdom and ransacked Puskari and probably killed Arthapatiraja around 480 A.D. After his death, his younger brother Skanda Varman took over the charge of Nala administration and reoccupied Puskari by driving away the Vakatakas. Perhaps, to commemorate that victory, he built a temple for God Bishnu at Puskari. Of course, the vigorous attack of the Vakatakas over the Nalas around the final quarter of the fifty century A.D. put an end to the Nala power in Kantara-Kosala region. Subsequently the Nalas left that place and went to Rajjim area of Chhatisgarh. Another two branches of their dynasty went to Tungabhadra and Aska (Ganjam). Thus the Nala power in Kantara-Kosala region was dismantled.

The Parvatadvarakas

The dynasty of Parvatadvaraka is a less known dynasty in the history of ancient Orissa. Towards the close of fifth century A.D., this dynasty appeared in Belkhandi-Narla region of Kalahandi. King Nandaraja of this dynasty issued his Narla grant from Parvatadvaraka, the capital of this dynasty. Another king of this dynasty named Tustikara issued Terasingha charter from Tarabhramavaka. Of course, not much is known about the rulers of this dynasty.

The Meghas

The Meghas rose in Kosala region about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Being driven by the Satavahanas in the second century A.D., the Mahameghavahanas seem to have established their empire in Kosala. They became popular as Meghas and ruled over South Kosala comprising the modern Raipur and Bilaspur districts of Madhya Pradesh and the undivided districts of Sambalpur, Sundargarh and Bolangir districts of Orissa. The Puranas refer to nine Megha kings of South Kosala who were ruling successively upto the invasion of Samudra Gupta. The last ruler of this dynasty was Mahendra (Mahendra Megha) who was defeated by Samudra Gupta in his Southern Indian Campaign as is revealed from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta.

The Vindyatavis (Nagas)

The Nagas ruled over Vindyatavi in the fourth century A.D. which comprised of the present Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts. The Asanpat inscription describes about a Naga king named Satrubhanja who was instrumental in defeating the Devaputras who are supposed to be the Kushanas and Murundas. Further, he also fought against the maga king of Pataliputra, Gaya, Trimila, Datavardhana, Kudravardhana, Vardhamana, Gorahati, Khedranga, Tamralipti and *Uttara* and *Dakshina* Tosali. Another ruler of this dynasty was Maharaja Sri Disabhanja as in revealed from an inscription in a cave near Sitabhinji. However, other rulers of this dynasty and their religion are not known.

The Sarbhapuriyas

The Sarbhapuriyas established their sway over South Kosala towards the close of the fifth century A.D. after the fall of the Nalas. Perhaps, the Sarbhapuriyas derived their name from Sarbhapura, which was their capital. This was founded by Sarabharaja, the founder of this dynasty. The name of this dynasty was known from the Mallar copper plates of Vyaghraraja.

Regarding the identification of the territory over which the Sarbhapuriyas ruled, scholars opine differently. Almost all the scholars accept the description of Hiuen Tsang who had visited South Kosalas around 638 A.D. during the rule of the Sarbhapuriyas and gave the location of the Capital about 300 *li* (45 kilometres) from *Po-lo-ma-la-ki-li* (Parimalagiri or Gandhamardana hills). Basing upon this description, the kingdom of the Sarbhapuriyas has been located in the Maraguda valley on the bank of river Jhonk in the present Nawapara district. Now a good deal of antiquities including the fort of Jumlagarh have been found from this area.

As stated earlier, king Sarabha (C-500-525 A.D.) was the founder of this dynasty. When the Nalas were defeated at the hands of the Vakataka Harisena, Sarabha ruled as a feudatory of Harisena. He is known from the Eran stone pillar inscription of Goparaja. In this inscription Goparaja has been described as the son of the daughter Sarabharaja and a commander of Bhanugupta, a Gupta ruler. If, the identification of Sarabharaja of the Eran stone pillar inscription with Sarabha, the son of Maharaja Narendra be accepted, then the Sarbhapuriyas would have flourished in South Kosala towards the early part of 6th century A.D.

The son and successor of Sarabharaja was Maharaja Narendra (C-525-555 A.D.). He was as independent ruler and was famous for his territorial aggrandisement which is known from his Kurud charter issued in his 24th regnal year from Tilakasvara, a military camp. After him the history of South Kosala remains obscure till the advent of the 7th century A.D. The discovery of several gold coins of Mahendraditya, Prasannamitra and Kramaditya has prompted historians to suggest that these three rulers ruled one after another.

Manamatra alias Jayaraja of this dynasty ruled in the first quarter in the 7th century A.D. He was succeeded by Sudevaraja-I and his Khariar charter reveals several place-names of the region which were under his sway. His younger brother established a new kingdom with Sripura (Sirpur in Mahasamund district of the present Chhatisgarh). Another brother of Sudevaraja-I named Vyaghraraja ruled over a small kingdom with Prasannapura as its capital. This shows that the Sarbhapuriya empire was divided into parts during the reign of Jayaraja.

Durgaraja succeeded to the throne of the Sarbhapuriyas after the death of Sudevaraja-I. His rule was very brief. His son and successor Sudevaraja-II was a diplomat. He appealed to the Panduvamsis of Mekala to help him in regaining Sripura. Indravala, the Panduvamsi king came to help Sudevaraja-II. Their combined effort gained success and Sripura was captured by Sudevaraja-II. At last the Panduvamsi ruler Tivaradeva, son of Nanna put an end to the Sharavapuriyas and established the Panduvamsi rule over Sripura around 8th century A.D.

SUB-REGIONAL KINGDOM AFTER THE GUPTA PERIOD

Many sub-regional kingdoms showed their heads on this soil after the Gupta period.

The Vigrahas

In the later half of the sixth century A.D. Kalinga was divided into three parts. The northern part was known as Kalinga rashtra. The Vigrahas rose into power in the later half of the 6th century A.D. The centre of political activities of the Matharas was *Dakshina* Tolsali or Kalinga *rashtra.* It was the northern part of Kalinga. At that time Tosali comprised of the undivided Balasore, Cuttack and Puri district. Prithvivigraha of Sumandala copper plate grant was a powerful ruler of this dynasty who fought with Mudgala king Sambhuyasa. His successor Lokavigraha had defeated Sambhuyasa.

The Mudgalas

The Mudgalas ruled over *Uttara* Tosali having the Mahanadi as the southern boundary. King Sambhuyasa was a great Mudgala king who is known from his three copper plate grants, *Viz*- the Erbang, Soro and Patiakela charters. He was defeated by the Vigraha king Lokavigraha.

However, with vigour, he attacked the Vigrahas and occupied south Tosali. Due to protracted struggle with the Vigrahas, the Mudgalas became weak and they were ousted from north Tosali by Durjaya king Prithvimaharaja.

The Sailodbhavas

The Sailodbhavas rose to power in the later half of the 6th century A.D. Kongoda (present Khalikote area of Ganjam) became the centre of their political activities. Being the feudatory of the Vigrahas, the Sailodbhavas became independent with the gradual march of time. Chharamparaja alias Ayasobhita, Madhavaraja-II, Madhyamaraja, Dharmaraja-II were some of the rulers of this dynasty.(For detail on Sailodbhavas see the forth coming chapter).

Thus, during the Gupta invasion and after many small and independent kingdoms grew in Orissa. When time advanced the great dynasties like the Bhauma-Karas, Somavamsis, the Ganga, etc. rose in the political scenario of Orissa which helped a lot in the process of state formation.

The Mandala States

Between 7th and 9th century A.D. a number of semi independent states emerged between Tosali and South Kosala. The rulers of these kingdoms assumed the titles like '*Ranaka*' and '*Samadhigata-Panchamahasabda*'. The rulers of these Mandalas served their sovereign kings during the period of war and external invasion. Among those ruling dynasties famous were the Vigrahas of Kongoda Mandala, the Gangas of Svetaka Mandala, the Bhanjas of Khinjali Mandala and Khijjinga Mandala, the Sulkis of Kodalaka Mandala, the Tungas of Yamagartta Mandala and the Mayuras of Banai Mandala.

The Sailodbhavas of Kongoda Mandala

The rise of the Sailodbhavas brought the Kongoda Mandala into existance towards the close of the 6th or 7th century A.D. It comprised of Ganjam bordering Chilka lake. If analysed, Kongoda has been derived from the mixture of two names Kalinga and Odra (Kalingoda). Others opine that Kongoda has been derived from the 'Kongunadu', a Tamil word with means 'a land of crooked geographical features'. Still others say that Kongoda has been derived from the word 'Kongu' means honey.

With Dharmaraja, Kongoda rose into prominance as a feudatory kingdom under the Vigrahas. After the fall of the Vigrahas, Kongoda came under the sway of Sasanka of Gauda. However, towards the second decade of the 7th century A.D. Kongoda became independent under the redoubtable Chharamparaja. Madhavaraja-II's Ganjam grant of 620 A.D. mentions for the first time about Kongoda. The capital was Kongoda-Vasaka (probably Bonkado near Banapur) on the bank of Salima (Salia). From the find-spot of the inscription, it is presumed that Kongoda Mandala extended between the rivers Rishikulya and Daya around the Chilka lake.

After the death of Sasanka, Kongoda came under the sway of Harsavardhan. Hiuen Tsang visited Kongoda what he has described as *Kong-yo-to*. He states it to be a hilly country. It was 1000 *li* in circuit and contained 10 towns. The kingdom had a gallant army and the elephant corps was very powerful.

After the death of Harsa, in due course of time, Kongoda came under the Bhauma-Karas. After the Bhauma-Karas, it came under the sway of the Somavamsis. It was conquered by the Ganga king Vajrahastadeva around 1038 A.D. During the Gangas and Gajapatis it became as an integral part of the Orissan empire.

The Gangas of Svetaka Mandala

Jayavarmandeva, a member of the Eastern Ganga family was the founder of the Svetaka Mandala towards the close of the 7th century A.D. He was a '*Ranaka*' under the Eastern Gangas. He issued his copper plates from Svetaka (Chikiti of Ganjam). When the Bhauma-Karas rose to power, Jayavarmandeva accepted their supremacy. However, he accepted the title 'Maharaja'. The place-names gleaned from his charters give an idea that Svetaka Mandala comprised of Bada Khimindi, Sana Khimindi and Seragarh. The Ganga rulers of Svetaka Gangas became famous as the Svetaka Gangas.

Anantavarman succeeded Jayavarmandeva. From the Ganjam grant it is known that he used independent titles like '*Maharajadhiraja, Paramesvara* and *Maharajadhiraja*'. It shows that he had challenged the authority of his overlord and was successful in his mission.

The valiant Anantavarman was succeeded by Gangakavilasa. Bhupendravarman succeeded Gangakavilasa. After him ruled Mahendravarman. His son Prithvivarman succeeded him. Indravarman-I, Danarnava and Indravarman-II were some of the rulers of the dynasty.

The last ruler of the Svetaka Gangas was Samantavarman. He has issued the Dhanatara grant, Kama Nilakanthapura grant and Pherva grant. The last known ruler of this dynasty was Samantavarman.

The Bhanjas of Khinjali Mandala

The Bhanjas were instrumental in carving-out Khinjali Mandala in 8th century A.D. The Khinjali Mandala comprised of Boudh, Sonepur, Daspalla and Angul tracts. The capital of this kingdom was Dhritipura which has been identified with Boudh.

The earliest ruler of Khinjali Mandala was Nettabhanja who is known from the Boudh copper plate grants. It consisted of five copper plate grants which were issued from *Nava-Angulaka-Pattana* (present Angul). He was an independent ruler. Another important ruler of this dynasty was Silabhanjadeva. He was succeeded by his son Satrubhanja.

With Ranabhanja who succeeded Satrubhanja began a new era. From his Boudh grant of 58 regnal year, it is know that he ruled about sixty years. He accepted the title '*Ranaka*' and then '*Maharaja*'. This shows that he had left the overlordship of the Bhauma-Karas. He had to fight with the Somavamsis of Kosala and probably laid down his life in the battle field. Now the Bhanjas were driven away from the Ganjam area and came to Angul area.

Nettabhanja-III first ruled in Vanjulaka or Angul area. He was a devotee of God Siva. He was succeeded by his nephew Shilabhanja-II whose Balugan charter proves that he was the son of Disabhanja, the elder brother of Nettabhanja-III. Silabhanja-II was succeeded by Vidyadharabhanja who was succeeded by Nettabhanja-IV. He was the follower of Vaishnavism. Although he was the last ruler of the dynasty, another branch of this dynasty ruled from Kulada Kataka. The attack of Janamejaya-I, the Somavamsi ruler put an end to the dynasty.

The Bhanjas of Khijjinga Mandala

The Bhanjas had carved out another Mandala state named as Khijjinga Mandala which comprised of the present Mayurbhanj district and a part of Keonjhar district. The capital of this state was Khijjinga-Kota identified with the present Khiching of Mayurbhanj district. Towards the later part of 9th century A.D., this Mandala state was established. The Bhanjas established their rule in Khijjinga when Ranabhanja was dead and the capital was shifted from Dhritipura to Vanjulaka (Angul). Perhaps during this time another group of the Bhanjas shifted to Ghumsar of Ganjam.

Birabhadra alias Adibhanja is regarded as the first Bhanja king of Khijjinga Mandala. He is a legendary figure and is said to have born from the egg of a Pea-hen at Kotyasrama. The earliest known figure of the Bhanjas of Khijjinga was Kottabhanja. He was succeeded by his son Digabhanja who is further known as Durjayabhanja and Vibramatunga. His two sons named Narendrabhanja and Ranabhanja succeeded him to the throne one after another.

From the Adipur copper plate charters of Narendrabhanja it is known that he and his brother donated villages. His Bamanghati grant records the donation of villages in Korandiya (modern Karanjia of Mayurbhanj district) and Devakunda (Devakunda village, five miles away from Rairangpur in Mayurbhanj district) Visayas. His brother Ranabhanja succeeded him. He was succeeded by his son Prithvibhanja alias Satrubhanja. His Khandadeuli inscription describes his father Ranabhanja as *Aupayikaputra* (reputed son). Satrubhanja (Prithvibhanja) has been described as *Maharajadhiraja* and *Mandaladhipati.* This shows that although he was a feudatory ruler, he was very powerful. From his stone inscription preserved in the museum at Baripada, it is known that he had granted land for the worship of Lilesa Bhadra Durga.

Rajabhanja, the younger brother of Satrubhnja, succeeded him to the throne. His Bamanghati charter indicates his grant land in Brahmanavasti visaya in favour of Subhrama, the son of Samanta Mundi. He did not use high titles because perhaps by that time Khijjinga Mandala came under the sway of the Somavamsis.

Durjayabhanja became the next ruler. Khijjinga-Kota was devastated by Ratnadeva-II, the Kalachuri ruler around 12th century A.D. When he had to fight with Chodagangadeva, the Ganga monarch. Feroz Shah Tughluq destroyed it in toto in 1361 A.D. Hariharabhanja, a scion of this family established a new headquarters at Hariharapur which was destroyed by the *Marathas.* Then Sumitradevi, the widow queen of Damodarbhanja shifted the headquarters of the Bhanjas to Baripada and it continued as the headquarter of the Bhanjas till it was amalgamated with Orissa state in 1949.

The Sulkis of Kodalaka Mandala

The Sulkis of Kodalaka Mandala offer an interesting study. The Kodalaka Mandala consists of the present Dhenkanal and Angul districts. The Sulkis (Sulikas or Saulikas) known in early period were associated with the people of Aparanta. The Puranas describe them as a tribe of the Southern India. In Orissa, their history is available from the 8th century A.D. When they were ruling in the Kodalaka Mandala.

The earliest known Sulki ruler of Kodalaka Mandala was Kanchanastambha. He was succeeded by his son Kalabastambha. From the Dhenkanal grant of Jayastambha it is known that defeating chief named Dhekata, assumed the title Vikramaditya. Dhekata has been presumed to be the Sarava Chief. Dhenka who must have suffered a defeat at the hand of Kanchanastambha.

Kodalaka Mandala was a small feudatory state extending from Samakoi river in the north to a small stream named Nadira in the south. Its capital was Kodalaka, identified with present village Kualo near Talcher.

Kalahastambha was succeeded by his son Ranastambha (Kulastambha-I). He has assumed the titles like *Mahasamntadhipati* and *Samadhigatapanchamahasabda* as is known from his Dhenkanal grant. His titles shows that he was a feudatory ruler under the Bhauma-Karas. This grant further reveals that Bhagavati Stambhesvari Bhattarika was the family deity of the Sulkis of Kodalaka Mandala.

Ranastambha alias Kulastambha-I was succeeded by his son Jayastambha. From his Dhenkanal charter it is known that he had assumed the title *Maharajadhiraja*. His son and successor Kulastambha-II also assumed the title *Maharaja*. Thus it is presumed that the Sulki rulers bore high sounding titles. Although they were the feudatory rulers, they were powerful.

The Nandodbhavas of Airavata Mandala

To the south of Kodalaka existed Airavata Mandala. The Nandas ruled over this Airavata Mandala. The Headquarters of this Airavata Mandala was Jayapura which is identified with the name of the same village south of Dhenkanal district. Infact, the Airavata Mandala consisted of the southern part of Dhenkanal district, western part of Cuttack district and northern part of Nayagarh district.

The first known ruler of Nandodbhava dynasty was Jayananda. He was the founder of Jayapura, the capital of the Nandodbhavas. Paramananda, his son and successor became the ruler of Airavata Mandala. His son Sivananda succeeded him to the throne. After him his son Devananda-I became the ruler of this dynasty. Devananda-II succeeded his father to the throne and his brother Dhruvananda became ruler after him. After Dhruvananda, the history of the Nadodbhavas are shrouded in mystery. Although, they were the feudatori rulers of the Bhauma-Karas, this Mandala was reduced to the status of a Visaya of Uttara Tosali under Dharma Mahadevi. However, the Somavamsis restored this Mandala and made it a big administrative unit.

The Tungas of Yamagartta Mandala

Yamagartta Mandala came into existence in the 9th century A.D. as a feudatory kingdom under the Bhauma-Karas. It comprised of the present Dhenkanal district Keonjhar district and Sundargarh district. The capital of this Mandala was Yamagartta, situated on the bank of river Mandakini identified with Mankra which starts from the western part of Keonjhar and passing through Pallahra falls in Brahmani near Banor.

The Tungas were the creators of Yamagatta Mandala. The earliest known ruler of this dynasty was Jayasimha. However, his Dhenkanal copper plate grant does not throw any light on his ancestors. He is described as the authority over all Gondramas. Vinitatunga's charters reflect that he belonged to Rohitgiri. His family member was Khadgatunga whose son Vinitatunga.

Two sets of geneology are associated with the Tungas. In one set Khadgatunga and his son Vinita Tunga are found. In another set, the name of Salatunga and his son Gayadatunga. Vinita Tunga assumed the title 'Ranaka'. Subhakaradeva was the last. Tunga ruler of Yamagartta Mandala. However, it is known that Subhakaradeva did not belong to the original Tunga family.

The Mayuras of Banai Mandala

The Mayuras having the surname Varaha ruled over the Bania Mandala in 8th-9th century A.D. This Banai Mandala has been identified with the present Banai of and portions of Panposh division of Sundergarh district of Orissa. The seal on the Banai charter projects the royal emblem where a peacock is found to the left. This signifies the family name "Mayura'.

Uditavaraha was the first king of the dynasty as per the information of the Banai charter. His son was Tejavaraha who was succeeded by Udayavaraha. He was a very powerful ruler and assumed the Buddhist title 'Parama Swagata'. He issued the Banai charter which records the grant of a village in Rourkela Visaya identified with the present Rourkela. An inscription on the pedestal of the image of Avalokitesvara of Khiching states that Dharanivaraha had carved out the image during the rule of Raya Bhanja of this dynasty. Perhaps Dharanivaraha had relation with the Mayura family of Banai. Later on the Bhanjas used peacock in their emblem. The Mayuras had accepted the overlordship of the Bhauma-karas but later on they accepted the authority of the Somavansi.

Another branch of Mayura. family is known to have ruled over Tamralipti. As per the information of Jaina *Bhagavatisutta*, a king named Tamali ruled over Tamaliti who belonged to Moriya family and used peacock emblem. It is presumed by historians that a branch of the Mayura family of Banai migrated to Tamralipti.

Banai came under the sway of the Somavansis till about the middle of the 11th century A.D. It then was occupied by the Kalachris of Batnapura who were defeated by the Ganga king Anangabhimadeva III. Around 1300 A.D. Banai was ruled by the Yadava king Singhava. Then the local chiefs ruled over Banai till the Kadambas occupied it. In 1948 it merged with Orissa.

Other Mandalas

There were other Mandalas during the Bhauma-Karas and Somavamsis. The Sambalpur University charter of Devapya and the Kamalpur charter reflect about Kolleda Mandala. It is difficult to identify this Mandala. It can be presumed that Kolleda might be Kulada near the present Angul.

The Kuodopali charter of the Samavamsi king Mahabhavagupta reveals about Siddhanda Mandala. This charter was issued from Bamandapati. The village granted in the charter is Loisara which has been identified with present Luisara of Baragarh district. This Mandala existed on the border area of Sonepur Bargarh districts.

The Chakrakota mandala was formed by the Chhindaka Nagas in 11th century A.D. This Mandala comprised of the present Bastar Koraput tract. it was a powerful states. The nagas had brought Virachoda under their knee. They also extended their sway upto South Kosala. The capital of Chakrakota Mandala was Barasura (present Barsur in Bastar district of Chhatisgarh). Later on Kamala Mandala (present Kalahandi) sprang up from Chakrakota Mandala.

The Madras museum plates of Narendra Dhavala (9th century A.D.) and Pandipathar grant of Bhimasena (10th century A.D.) throw light on Khindirasringa Mandala. It comprised of Dharakota, Badagada, Seragarh and Soroda estates.

The Amvavadi Mandala was known from Khillingar charter of Kalyandevi, the wife of Ranaka Rajendravarman. Amvavadi has been identified with Ambadula of Kalahandi district. The Charter is found from Khillingar near Gunpur. The Amvavadi Mandala would have comprised of present Rayagada and a small portion adjacent to it.

These Mandala states came into existence largely during the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis. These states helped their overlords in conducting wars. Their role in the state formation in the early medieval Orissa cannot be ignored.

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Chapter – 7

HIUEN TSANG'S ACCOUNTS OF ORISSA

With the death of Sasanka, the ruler of Gauda, Harsavardhan became the undisputed master of the entire Eastern India. The far-flung Gauda empire was fragmented into pieces and most probably it was shared between Harsa and his friend Bhaskarvarman of Kamarupa with whom the former had formed 'undying alliance'. Hiuen Tsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim, who visited India during Harsavardhan has left a copious account in his *Si-yu-ki.* About 693 A.D., he visited Orissa. By that time a number of roads had well connected the region of Kalinga and Kosala. He travelled from Karnasuvarna to Kosala via Odra, Kongoda and Kalinga. About Odra, Kongoda and Kalinga, he vividly describes in his *Si-yu-ki.*

Wu' Cha (Odra)

Wu' Cha or Odra, in Hiuen Tsang's account was 7,000 *li* in circuit and its capital was 20 *li.* Though, the Chinese pilgrim has not given its territorial boundary, Alexander Cunningham, analysing the pilgrim's accounts, suggests that Odra comprised the districts of Midnapur (now in West Bengal), undivided Balasore, Cuttack, Ganjam and some parts of Puri district. About this land, his description states–

> "The soil was rich and fertile yielding fruits larger than those of other lands and its rare plants and noted flowers could not be enumerated, the climate was hot, the people were of violent ways, tall and dark complexion."

The above statement of Hiuen Tsang that the people of Odra were tall and dark complexion (yellowish black) do not agree with the physical features of the present Oriyas who were generally short in stature and brownish black in complexion, opines Prof. K. C. Panigrahi. The statement of Prof. Panigrahi is to be taken with a pinch of salt because some 1400 or more years back, the complexion and of the persons in this land might tally with the description of Hiuen Tsang. The pilgrim further states that in language and habit, the people of Odra were different from the people of central India.

Regarding the religion of the people, the pilgrim says that most of the people of this land were the followers of Mahayana Buddhism. He informs that Odra had more than 100 monasteries and about 10,000 monks. There were only 50 *Deva* temples in this land in which the followers of different sects worshipped together. Though, he has not given any details about other religion prevailing in this country except Mahayana Buddhism, from his account, it can be concluded that Brahmanical religion existed here. Of course, from his statement as recorded in the *Si yu-ki* Prof. K. C. Panigrahi affirms that Mahayana Buddhism was in a very flourishing condition than any other religion in Odra. However, the condition was not so, which can be confirmed from the following fact.

The fact is this that after establishing his sway over Kongoda, Harsa went to Odra. The Hinayanists, in a group, met him and expressed their dissatisfaction over his patronage to Mahayana Buddhism which they considered as a 'sky-flower' doctrine. They presented a treatise of Prajnagupta to Harsa and said–

> "This present our doctrine. Is there a man of the other school that can upset one word of it."

The above statement of the Hinayanists made Harsa angry who rebuked them for their self-boasting which could only vanish after they heard the brilliant discourses of Mahayana Buddhism from eminent scholars. He wrote Silabhadra, the then Chancellor of Nalanda University to send four eminent scholars to Odra to meet the challenge of the Hinayanists and the learned Chancellor selected Sagaramati, Prajnarashmi, Simharashmi and Hiuen Tsang for the said purpose. When these scholars were about to start their journey. Harsa sent message to wait for the time being. Perhaps the matter was solved and the conference did not take place. This fact is an indicator that during Harsa's visit to Orissa, Hinayana Buddhism was in ascendancy.

The Chinese pilgrim mentions about *pu-sie-p'o-ki-li* (Pushpagiri), a Buddhist monastry in Odra. The identification of Pushpagiri is a matter of controversy. Alexander Cunningham identifies Pushpagiri with Khandagri and Udayagiri. R. L. Mitra identifies it with Dhauli. R. P. Chanda and R. D. Banerjee identify it with Ratnagiri. Though Debal Mitra, through the excavation conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India in Ratnagiri area, tries to identify it with Pushpagiri but a number of terracotta seals from the place containing the legend *Sri Ratnagiri Mahavihariya Bhikshusamghasya* clearly indicate that the ancient name of Ratnagiri Mahavihara cannot be Pushpagiri Mahavihara. Prof. N. K. Sahu's suggestion that Pushpagiri Vihara can be located in the Phulbani-Ghumsar area is also equally erroneous, because there is hardly any place in Phulbani Ghumsar site with vast Buddhist remains to justify his statement. Prof. K. C. Panigrahi is right in his observation when he says that the definite identification of Pushpagiri should await further discoveries (exploration or excavation). It is expected that the present research concerning Lalitagiri-Ratnagiri area will solve the problem in recent future.

Another place of great Buddhist importance in Odra mentioned by Hiuen Tsang was *Che-li-ta-lo* (Charitra) situated on the sea coast. From his accounts, it is known that Charitra was not only a prosperous port but also a centre of Buddhism and it contained four Buddhist stupas. It was a rendezvous for merchants who embarked on the sea and for other from distant places who travelled here and there. The country Simhala (Sri Lanka) was situated about 20,000 *li* to the south of *Che-li-ta-lo*. Standing on the sea shore of this city in a calm and tranquil night, one could see the brilliant light from the pearl of the stupa over Lord Buddha's relic in Simhala.

Cunningham identifies *Che-li-ta-lo* with Puri and most of the scholars accept this view. In recent years endeavours are being made to identify it with a place near Chandbali in Bhadrak district or Tirtol in Jagatsingpur or with a village named Manikpatna on the bank of Chilka lake. However, to the present writer, *Che-li-ta-lo* might be a place near

Diamond Triangle (Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri) from Chandikhol in the present Jajpur district towards Paradeep port which was during the visit of Hiuen Tsang, a Buddhist centre. Except this place, no place discussed earlier contain Buddhist remains. Further excavations at different places of Orissa, in future, may solve this problem. (See description on Odra in Chapter 2)

Kong-Yu-To (Kongoda)

From Odra, Hiuen Tsang proceeded to Kong-Yu-To or Kongoda. Regarding Kongoda, the Chinese pilgrim gives the following description–

> "The country was above 1,000*li* in circuit. The country contained some tens of towns from the slope of the hills to the edge of the sea."

Basing upon the accounts of Hiuen Tsang, T. Watters suggests that Kongoda was about 200 miles in circumference and it was a hilly country boardering on the sea. It has a capital city about three miles in circuit.

Regarding the capital, Hiuen Tsang says that the town was naturally strong and there was a galiant army in it which kept the neighbour country in awe and thus, it had no powerful enemy. This description clearly shows that Kongoda was a powerful kingdom. Though, Hiuen Tsang does not say about the king of Kongoda, perhaps, king Madhavavarman of the Sailodbhava dynasty was ruling over the country.

Though the pilgrim does not give a vivid description about the capital of Kongoda, Alexander Cunningham infers from the description of Hiuen Tsang that the capital was located in the undivided Ganjam district of Orissa.

Thus, Kongoda existed from the south of Chilka lake to mount Mahendra. Prof. K. C. Panigrahi opines that the above description of Hiuen Tsang tallies with the modern physical features of Puri and Ganjam (undivided) districts which constituted Kongoda country.

Regarding the people of Kongoda, Hiuen Tsang says that they were of Black complexion. Their language was not very different from the language of mid-India. Of course, the pligrim says that their manner of speaking had been influenced by the regional languages of Kalinga and Andhra country which were not of Sanskrit origin.

Hiuen Tsang writes about the trading activity of the people of Kongoda. He states that Cowre was commonly used as currency in small business transaction Kongoda, by that time, produced a fine variety of elephants which were very large in size and black in colour.

Regarding religion, Hiuen Tsang observes that Buddhism was in a declining state in Kongoda. There were more than 100 Hindu temples while the *Tirthikas* (Jainas) numbered more than 10,000. This description of the Chinese pilgrim indicates that Jainism was in a very flourishing condition in Kongoda. (Also see the description of 'Kongoda' in Chapter 2)

Ki-ling-Kia (Kalinga)

From Kongoda, Hiuen Tsang journeyed towards South west and after covering nearly 300 miles, he reached *ki-ling-kia* or Kalinga. From his description, it is known that, the country was less than a thousand miles in circuit having a large chunk of forests. This description suggests that the country extended from the Godavari in the north to the Krishna in the south. Its capital was three and half miles in circumference.

Kalinga by that time, was not included in Andhra. Hiuen Tsang mentions Andhra (*An-to-Lo*) separately, which was a neighbouring country of Kalinga. Though, Hiuen Tsang does not speak about the capital of Kalinga but it can be suggested that Kalinganagara (Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh) was the capital of Kalinga, which by that time, was not included in the Andhra country. Alternatively, it can be said that Tosali might have formed the centre of political activities for Kalinga by that time. Regarding the people of Kalinga Hiuen Tsang writes :

> "The people were rude and head-strong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech, in their talk and manners, they differed somewhat from mid-India."

This description suggests that the people of Kalinga were influenced, to a greater extent, by the people of Andhra Country.

The Chinese pilgrim narrates that Kalinga produced a variety of large elephants which had great demand in the neighbouring countries. This fact of Hiuen Tsang is corroborated if, looking back, one goes through Kautilya's *Arthasastra* which mentions Kalinga as a country producing the best variety of elephants. Hiuen Tsang's accounts get ample corroboration from the description of Muslim geographers of 9th-10th century A.D. who refer to large elephants of Kalinga as one of the chief commodities of trade during the period of the Bhauma-karas.

Regarding religion, the Chinese pilgrim says that in Kalinga only 10 *Sangharams* (Buddhist monasteries) existed having 500 Buddhists who studied law according to the Sthavira school of Mahayan sect. There were more than 100 Hindu temples and a large number of people were followers of different sects of Hinduism. The Chinese pilgrim is silent about the state of Jainism in Kalinga. From his accounts, it can be guessed that Jainism was totally in a declining state, whereas Buddhism had lost its importance to a greater extent. The only religion which was gaining momentum in Kalinga was Brahmanism.

The Chinese pilgrim, in his accounts, narrates an interesting episode about Kalinga. He says that Kalinga was densely populated previously. Due to the wrath of a seer having super natural power, destruction spread its ugly shadow over Kalinga. Many people, old and young, perished due to his curse. Of course, in later time, people from other places migrated to Kalinga but the country could not regain its former vitality as the population was thin during the period of the visit of the Chinese pilgrim.

The above description of the Chinese pilgrim has not been corroborated anywhere. If one thinks rationally, it would appear that a great devastation had come over this land with Asoka's Kalinga War, that had destroyed the population of Kalinga to a greater extent. During and after that sanguinary war, people of Kalinga might have left the country and went to the nearby countries. With the gradual march of time, when Kalinga was under the tender care of Asoka, they would have returned. By the time of Hiuen Tsang, this fact might have been distorted. As the pilgrim was a stranger to this alien land, he might have reflected this fact, which by the time of his visit, had taken somewhat a story form. Of course, this is a speculation and further research will be able to throw welcome light over this fact. (For Kalinga, see chapter 2).

Kosala

From Kalinga, the Chinese pilgrim proceeded about 1800 *li* in the north-west and came to the country of Maha Kosala or South Kosala. In his description, the country was more than a thousand miles in circumference. It was surrounded by lofty mountains, dense forests and marshes.

Basing upon the description of Hiuen Tsang, Cunningham says that Maha Kosala or South Kosala, in ancient times, comprised 'the whole of the upper valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries from the source of the Narbada from Amrakantaka in the north to Mahanadi itself near Kanker on the south and from the valley of the Wenganga on the west to the Hasdo and Joank rivers in the east.'

He further says that Kosala embraced the hilly districts of Mandala and Balaghat on the west upto the banks of the Wenganga and the middle valley of the Mahanadi on the east down to Sambalpur and Sonepur. However, this will suffice to say that Kosala comprised Raipur and Bilaspur districts of Madhya Pradesh and the modern undivided districts of Sambalpur and Bolangir upto Sonepur.

Regarding the capital of the country, Hiuen Tsang says that it was 40 *li* in circuit. Definitely, it was two times bigger than the capital of Odra, Kongoda and Kalinga. The pilgrim further states that it was 1800 *li* away from the capital of Kalinga. Most probably, Sripura, on the bank of Mahanadi in Raipur district, was its capital.

The Pilgrim states that the king of Kosala was of Kshatriya caste. He showed great reverence to the Law of Lord Buddha. He had adoration for learning and arts.

Reagarding the state of religion of the country, the Chinese pilgrim states that there were more than 100 monasteries in the country occupied by about 10,000 Mahayanist monks. Besides, there were a large number of Deva temples in that country. This description of Hiuen Tsang proves that Mahayana Buddhism was in a flourising stage in Kosala. Brahmanism was also flourishing side by side with Buddhism.

The Chinese pilgrim reveals in his accounts the purpose of his visit to Kosala. It was only because the county was associated with the memory of the great Mahayana Philosopher Nagarjuna, who was the contemporary of the mighty Kushana monarch Kanishka and lived in Kosala towards the first part of the second century A.D. In his *Si-Yu-Ki*, the pilgrim writes :

> "To the south-west of this country (South Kosala) above 300 *li* from the capital was a mountain called *po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li* which rose lofty and compact like single rock. Here King Yin-Cheng had quarried for Nagarjuna, a monastey in the mountain and had cut in the rock a path communication with the monastery for above 10 *li*. The monastery had cloisters and lofty halls, these halls were in five tiers, each with four courts, with temples containing gold life size image of the Buddha of perfect artistic beauty. It was well supplied with running water and the chambers were lighted by window cut in the rocks."

St. Juline suggests that *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li* is no other than Parimalagiri located on the boarder of Sambalpur and Bolangir districts. Prof. R. D. Banerji identifies it with Brahmagiri situated in the former Rewa state. Prof. K. C. Panigrahi refutes it on the ground that Maha Kosala or South Kosala country never extended upto Bundelkhand in which Rawa is situated. Of course, till now, the matter has not satisfactorily been solved.

The patron of Nagarjuna is also known as *Sha-to-po-ha* (Sadavaha) in the account of Hiuen Tsang and as *Shi-Yen-teka* (Satakarni) in the accounts of I-tsing, another chinese pilgrim who visited India after Hiuen Tsang. Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri suggests that the king was probably no other than the Satavahana King Gautamiputra Satakarni. This proposition, of course, should be taken with a pinch of salt. It was only because from Nasik inscription, it is known that Gautamiputra Satakarni was a great patron of Brahmanism. In that case, for rendering patronage to a Buddhist scholar Nagarjuna by Gautamiputra seems something improbable. Whatever the fact may be, Mahayana form of Buddhism flourished in Kosala during the visit of Hiuen Tsang. From Kosala, Hiuen Tsang proceeded to Andhra country. (For Kosala, see chapter 2)

Hiuen Tsang was a Buddhist scholar, particularly, a Mahayanist out and out. He observed many things from that stand point. However, in his enuneration about Odra, Kalinga, Kongoda and Kosala, he has reflected about this land, language of the people, trade and commerce to some extent besides religion. His accounts help a lot for the reconstruction of the ancient history of Orissa.

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Chapter – 8

THE SAILODBHAVAS

Towards the middle of the sixth century A.D. and more obviously at the advent of the seventh century A.D., the hazzy political scene of Orissa became clear to some extent. In the political chess-board of Orissa, the Sailodbhavas emerged as a mighty power extending their sway from the Mahanadi in the north to Mahendragiri in the south. They ruled over Kongoda *Mandala*, roughly comprising the undivided Ganjam and Puri districts. The centre of their political activities was Kongodavasaka which was, perhaps, on the bank of river Salia in the Ganjam district. The *Ekamra Purana. Kapila Samhita, Svarnadri Mahodaya and* Hiuen Tsang's *Si-yu-ki* help a lot in constructing the history of the Sailodbhavas. The Sumandala plate, Kanasa copper plate grant, Soro charter, Chicacole plates, Khurda grant, Tekkali charter, Ganjam plates etc. form the inscriptional sources for the dynasty.

The origin of the Sailodbhavas is shrouded in mystery. The Sailodbhava inscriptions state that once upon a time when anarchy prevailed over Kalinga, an aboriginal chief named Pulindasena worshipped Lord Brahma (*Svayambhu*) to save the country by providing it with a strong ruler. The Lord was pleased and created an able-bodied person named Sailodbhava, who became the founder of the dynasty. The name *Sailodbhava* literary means 'born out of rocks'.

Coming to the historical analysis of the origin of the Sailodbhavas, scholars opine that Sailodhbavas were either a branch of the Ganga family or Saila dynasty of Madhya Pradesh. Both these opinions do not seem plausible. Pulindasena may be regarded as the chieftain of the Pulindas. The Pulindas may be identified with Kulindas of the Rock Edict XIII of Asoka who were a trible of the *Atavika Rajya* which was a part of Kalinga and was not conquered by Asoka. Varahamihira's *Brihat Samhita* is a pointer in this direction because, he associates the Pulindas with the Sailajas inhabiting the rocky region of Kalinga. Perhaps, Pulindasena was instrumental in helping Sailodbhava of the Sailaja tribe in establishing the dynasty after his name and the territory, over which its rulers ruled, was known as Kongoda *mandala*. Abhaya of the Sumandala plate, whose descendent was Dharmaraja, may be identified with Sailodbhava, the founder of the dynasty. The genealogy of the Saliodbhavas is as follows.

Genealogical Table of the Sailodbhavas

Sailodbhava (mythical origin)

1. Dharmaraja I Ranabhita
2. Madhavaraja I Sainyabhita I

3. Chharamparaja Ayasobhita I
4. Madhavaraja II Sainyabhita II (Madhavavarman)
5. Madhyamaraja I Ayasobhita II
6. Dharmaraja II Sri Manabhita
7. Madhyamaraja II
8. Ailaparaja

Yuvaraja Tailapa

9. Madhyamaraja III

1) Dharmaraja I Ranabhita (C- 553-553 A. D.)

From the Sumandala charter dated Gupta era 250 (570 A.D.), it is known that Dharmaraja I alias Ranabhita was the first known historical ruler of the Sailodbhaba dynasty. He was not an Independent ruler, rather, a feudatory under the Vigraha ruler Prithivivigraha of Kalinga. It is apparent that towards the close of sixth century A.D., the Vigrahas had become powerful and the Sailodbhavas acknowledged their suzerainty. Dharmaraja I was, perhaps, the devotee of Sun God as in the Sumandala Charter, it is described that he devoted at the feet of thousand-rayed sun (*Sahasrarasmi padabhakta*).

Madhavaraja I Sainyabhita I

Madhavaraja I succeeded Dharmaraja I to the throne of Kongoda. He was feudatory of the Vigrahas as is revealed from the Kanasa copper plate grant of Gupta era 280 (600 A.D.) wherein he has been described as a *Mahasamanta* under Lokavigraha. This fact has been corroborated in the Ganjam grant of his grandson Madhavaraja II. Thus, the two early rulers of this dynasty were not independent rulers rather they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vigrahas of Kalinga.

(2) Chharamparaja Ayasobhita I (C-600-615 A.D.)

With Chharamparaja Ayasobhita I, a new phase began in the history of the Sailodbhavas. In the struggle between the vigrahas and Mudgalas for supremacy over Tosali, Ayasobhita I fished in that troubled water and became independent of the Vigraha rule.

From Eradanga Charter (555 A.D.) and the Soro Charter (580 A.D.), it is known that the Mudgala King Sambhuyasa became powerful over Tosali and wanted to subjugate Kalinga. His dream was shattered into pieces when he was defeated by Lokavigraha. About 603 A. D. Sambhuyasa avenged the defeat by driving out Lokavigraha from South Tosali. Immediately, after the assertion of his power over South Tosali, he was defeated by Prithvimaharaja, the King of Pistapura and thus, ended the Mudgala rule over Tosali. At the advent of the seventh century A. D. Prithvimaharaja encountered the attack of Sasanka of Gauda from the north who occupied the Northen Tosali. At about the same time, Pulakesin II established his sway over Pistapura.

At this juncture, Ayasobhita I asserted his independence over Kongoda. For the first time, he named his capital Vijaya Kangodavasaka. From the Khandipada Nuapali grant, it is known that he was an independent ruler and was assisted by a number of officers like *Sri Samanta, Maha Samanta, Maharaja Rajanaka, Rajaputra, Dandanayaka, Kumaramatya, Uparika* and *Ayuktaka.* The creation of new capital and different officers including feudatories clearly show that he was an independent and sovereign ruler. He was a devotee to Lord Siva (Hara) and patronised Saivism as is revealed from his Nuapali grant. Perhaps, towards the close of his reign or his success of Madhavaraja II, Kongoda came under the sway of Sasanka of Gauda.

④ Madhavaraja II Sainyabhita II (C. 615 - 665 A.D.)

The lost glory of the Sailodbhava dynasty was restored and firmily established by Madhavaraja II Sainyabhita II, the son and successor of Charamparaja. He ruled over Kongoda *Mandala* under different circumstances at least for fifty years as feudatory and independent ruler exhibiting his diplomatic genius.

In his Ganjam grant dated 620 A.D. he has been described as the Mahasamanta of Sasanka. In the Khurda Charter of Madhavaraja, he is described as the Lord of entire Kalinga. This shows that around 626 A.D., with the fall of Sasanka, Madhvaraja II asserted his independence and grabed entire Kalinga assuming the title *Sakala-Kalingadhipati.* The Gangas, who had been driven away from Kalinga by Sasanka, now gained momentum and with the help of the Western Chalukyas reasserted their sway over Kalinga. This fact has been asserted from the Chicacole plates of the Ganga ruler Indravarman III. At this juncture, Madhavaraja II thought it prudent to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Gangas which has been corroborated by the subsequent Charters. After the issue of Khurda Charter, he never, mentions himself as the 'Lord of Kalinga'.

Right from 628 A.D. Madhavaraja II became conspicuously famous as Madhavavarman, revealed from the Buguda and Purusottampur Charters. Further, his kingdom was known as Kongoda *mandala.* In the struggle for mastery over South India between Harsavardhan and Pulakeshin II, Madhavavarman remained silent and maintained his independent status as a buffer state. With the death of Pulakesin II in 642 A.D. Harsavardhan conquered Kongoda and Madhavavarman had no alternative but to accept the suzerainty of Harsa. Again, with the demise of Harsavardhan in 647 A.D. Madhavavarman became the independent sovereign of Kongoda *mandala.* After fiftith regnal year i.e. C-665 A.D. nothing is known about him.

The way Madhavaraja II tackled the turbulent situation encompassing Kongoda testifies his genius as a shrewd diplomat. He not only saved the nascent Sailodbhava kingdom from the wrath of the great rulers like Sasanka, Pulakesin II and Harsa but also became successful in maintaining the sovereignty and strength of the empire.

⑨ Madhyamaraja I Ayasobhita II (C-665-695 A.D.)

Madhavaraja was succeeded by Madhyamaraja I Ayasobhita II, His Parikuda Charter describes him as a mystic person who can establish link with departed souls. He was so strong that he could run easily with able bodied persons standing on his soldiers. He was a patron of Brahmanism as the above mentioned charter records the grant of a village in Katakabhukti *Visaya* in favour of twelve Brahmanas. Further, he performed the Vedic sacrified like *Asvamedha* and *Vajapeya*. After a glorious reign of thirty years, he breathed his last in C - 695 A.D.

Dharmaraja II Srimanabhita (C-695 - 725 A.D.)

With the passing away of Ayasovita II, a war of succession took place between his two sons– Dharmaraja II and Madhavaraja. Madhavaraja, the younger son of Ayasobhita II usurped the throne of Kongoda violating the law of primoginature and tried to drive away Dharmaraja from the Kingdom. However, Dharmaraja in retrospect, secured the support of some powerful officers and feudatories and defeated his younger brother, Madhavaraja. The latter left Kongoda and formed an alliance with Tivaradeva, the ruler of South Kosala who wished to help Madhava for extending his sway to Kongoda. However, contrary to his expectation, of the combined army Tivaradeva and Madhavaraja was defeated by Dharmaraja.

After that, Dharmaraja II firmly established his authority over Kongoda. It is known that he was a great builder of towns as revealed from his Banapur, Puri, Rampur, Nivina, Chandesvara and Kondeddle charters. The Kama Nalinakshapura grant of Ganga King Samantavarman, mentions a high road named *Dharmaraja Kalingamarga* which was perhaps, built by Dharmaraja II.

Dharmaraja II was a saintly king. He had love and adoration for religion and philosophy. He performed the Vedic sacrifices and patronised Brahmin scholars. He was famous for his religious toleration. It is known from his Banpur grant that his queen Kalyanadevi granted lands in favour of a Jaina monk Prabodha Chandra. This shows her religious catholicity.

Decline of the Sailodbhavas

Dharmaraja II was succeeded by his son Madhyamaraja II as is known from Tekkali Charter of Madhyamaraja III, the last known ruler of the dynasty. Madhyamaraja II was a young ruler and brave warrior. Perhaps, after his death, Sailodbhavas were driven away from Kongoda by the Bhaumakaras of Tosali around 736 A.D. Allaparaja, who succeeded Madhyamaraja, was sheltered by the Gangas of Kalinga. He ruled over Tekkali region as a feudatory of the Gangas. He was succeeded by grandson Madhyamaraja III, because his own Tailapa met premature death. After Madhyamaraja II, no information is gathered regarding the Sailodbhavas.

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Whatever the fact may be, the Sailodbhavas ruled over Kongoda nearly about 200 years. During their period, Brahmanism arose as a great religion over Kongoda. The dynasty faced great upheavels from external enemies and withstood those aggressions. At last, the Bhauma-Karas brought ecllipse to the Sailodbhava dynasty.

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Chapter – 9

THE BHAUMA-KARAS

The paucity of source materials after Mahameghavahana Kharavela prevents scholars to give a connected history of Orissa under the Satavahana, Murunda, Naga, Megha and Gupta rule. Starting from Samudragupta's invasion till the end of the Sailodbhavas, Orissa came under the rule of the dynasties like that of the Mathuras, Nalas, Parvatadvarakas, Suras, Eastern Gangas, Vigrahas, Mudgalas including Pushyabhuti dynasty under Harsavardhan. After that, began the glorious reign of the Bhauma-Karas in Orissa towards the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. and lasted till the middle of the tenth century A.D. Their rule in Orissa gave an unbroken political continuity for a period over two hundred years bringing administrative stability, social coherence and cultural synthesis.

The origin of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty is obscure. With ample analysis, Binayak Mishra, H. K. Mahatab, R. C. Majumdar and N. K. Sahu hold the view that the Bhauma-Karas belonged to Orissa. On the other hand, R.D. Banerji, K. C. Panigrahi, Biswarup Das and others believe that they belonged to Assam and in course of time, migrated to Orissa. This view seems more plausible because some inscriptions show close political contact between Orissa and Assam. Further, the art and architecture of both the regions bear mutual influence.

A very interesting thing about the dynasty is that in their earlier copper plate charters, the kings mention themselves as 'Bhauma' while in their later records they show themselves belonging to 'Kara' dynasty. So, scholars term this dynasty as the 'Bhauma-Kara' dynasty. Their capital Guhadevapataka or Guhesvarapataka was probably the modem jajpur on the river bank of Vaitarani.

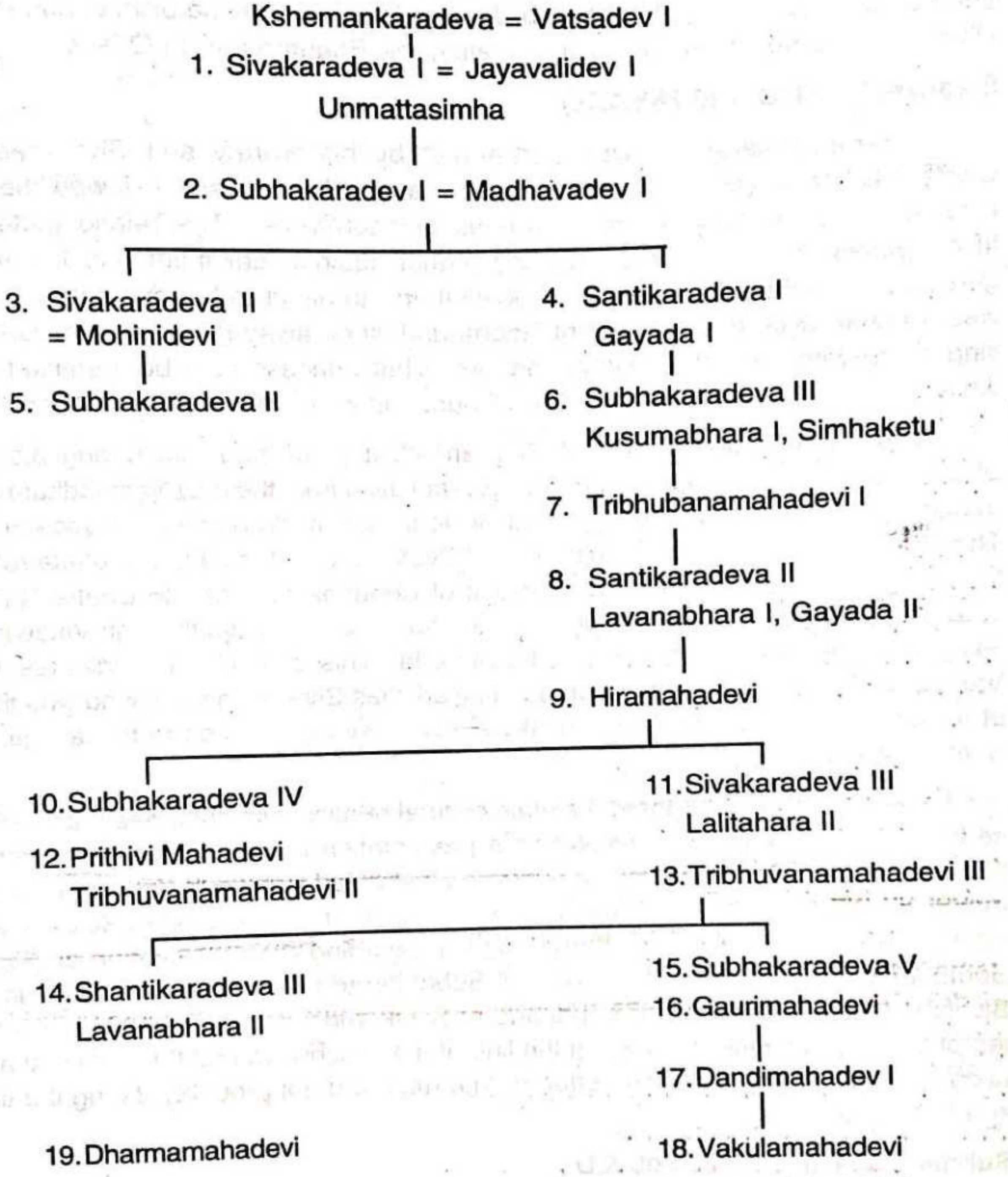
The Vishnu Purana, Brahmanda Purana, Harivamsa Purana, Dathavamsa, Gandavyuha and Hudud-al-Alam form the main literary source for constructing the history of the Bhauma-Karas. Besides, the inscriptions and grants of the rulers of this dynasty like Neulpur plate, Ganeshgumpha inscription, Dhauli cave inscription, Terundia, Dharakote, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Ambagaon, Angul, Talatalia and several other plates throw much light on the politico-economic and religious history of this dynasty.

Political history– An Outline

In the eighth-ninth century A.D. the Bhauma-Karas rose in the political scenario of Orissa and dazzled this land to determine the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara kings is a harculean task but it is definite that they ruled about two hundred years. The Bhauma kings started a new era, perhaps to commemorate their attainment of suzerainty over Orissa. The rulers of this dynasty had continuously used this ear. There is tangle skein of opinions regarding the commencement of the Bhauma-Kara era (*Samvat*). Pandit B. Mishra, S. N. Rajguru and D.C. Sircar opine that the *Samvat commenced* in the seventh, eighth or ninth century A.D. respectively. After due analysis, Biswarup Das has accepted the view of

S. N. Rajguru who fixes it in 736 A.D. and most of the scholars incline to accept this view. The genealogy of the Bhauma-Kara rulers has been given

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BHAUMA-KARAS


Kshemankaradeva = Vatsadev I
1. Sivakaradeva I = Jayavalidev I
Unmattasimha
2. Subhakaradev I = Madhavadev I
3. Sivakaradeva II
= Mohinidevi
4. Santikaradeva I
Gayada I
5. Subhakaradeva II
6. Subhakaradeva III
Kusumabhara I, Simhaketu
7. Tribhubanamahadevi I
8. Santikaradeva II
Lavanabhara I, Gayada II
9. Hiramahadevi
10. Subhakaradeva IV
11. Sivakaradeva III
Lalitahara II
12. Prithivi Mahadevi
Tribhuvanamahadevi II
13. Tribhuvanamahadevi III
14. Shantikaradeva III
Lavanabhara II
15. Subhakaradeva V
16. Gaurimahadevi
17. Dandimahadev I
18. Vakulamahadevi
19. Dharmamahadevi

Kshemankaradeva

Kshemankaradeva was the founder of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty in Orissa. Before him anarchy had destoyed the social structure in this land. The Neulpur Charter of Subhakaradeva II reveals that Kshemankara established the traditional four-fold caste system in the society. His blood and iron policy maintained law and order in the empire. On the other hand, he showed his conciliatory policy towards his subjects to bring peace and harmony in the society. Kshemankaradeva took adequate steps to preserve the integrity of his empire. From Samangad inscription and the Dasavatara inscription, it becomes apparent that Rastrakuta ruler Dantidurga won victories over Kalinga and Kosala, but did not venture to attack Odra and Utkala. This shows the heroism of Kshemankaradeva who left no stone unturned in consolidating the Bhauma rule in Orissa.

Sivakaradeva I (C–736-783 A.D.)

Kshemankaradeva was succeeded by his worthy son Sivakaradeva I alias Unmattasimha or Unmatta Kesari. He was a mighty ruler and followed the principle of extensive aggrandisement in the north-east and south-west. The Talcher plate of Sivakara III compares him with Poros who had fought against Alexander and his Macedonian garrison. From the same plate it is known that with his grand army he marched to south-west Bengal, defeated the ruler of Radha and "took away in victory the daughter of the king along with the latter's kingly fortune". That princess may be identified with queen Jayavallidevi who is known from the Chaurasi plate of Sivakaradeva II.

From the Talcher plate of Sivakara III, it is inferred that during his period, the Bhauma army conquered the entire Kalinga stretching from the river Vamsadhara to Godavari defeating the Ganga power. Further, his victorious arms went upto Kongoda and Svetaka. The Ganjam grant of Jayavaramandeva of Svetaka reveals that the Svetaka ruler donated the village Valarisranga in Varttini *Visaya* of Kongoda *mandala* to Bhatta Nannata after obtaining the necessary permission of Unmatta Kesari of Viraja through Visavarnavadeva, who was perhaps the governor of Kongoda. This fact clearly indicates that Jaya-Varmandadeva was a vassel of Unmattakesari alias Sivakaradeva I, who was the overlord of Kongoda and Svetaka. Thus, Sivakaradeva I extended his sway to Kalinga, Kongoda, Svetaka and Radha.

Sivakara I was eager to maintain cultural relation with countries outside Orissa. He sent a Buddhist work *Gandavyuha* as a presentation to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong through Prajna, a Buddhist scholar who was instructed to provide the emperor of China a translation of that work. This was definitely a pointer in the direction of Sino-Indian cultural relation. Of course, scholars differ in opinion regarding the presentation of *Gandavyuha*. Some opine that it was done during Subhakaradeva I, the son and successor of Sivakaradeva I. However, the patronage of Sivakaradeva I to the distinguished scholars tempt the present writer to opine in the line of many scholars that this act must have been accomplished during the reign period of that ruler and not probably during the time of his son Subhakaradeva I.

Subhakaradeva I (C–780-800 A.D.)

Subhakaradeva I succeeded to his father Sivakaradeva I who had bequeathed a vast kindgom for his son. During the reign period of his father, he was really instrumental to extend the sway of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty to Kalinga, Kongoda and Svetaka. His dream could not be fully fulfilled as he had to bear the brunt of the Rastrakuta ruler Govinda III. The Sanjan plate of Amoghavarsa states that Govinda III conquered Odraka along with Kosala, Kalinga, Vanga and Dahala. This fact finds a faint reference in the Hindol plate of Subhakara III which reveals that "even though he (Subhakaradeva I) was deserted by his soldiers, his glory was never impaired by his adverseries and he was the best of men". Making a reference to the *Madala Panji*. K. C. Panigrahi analyses a story recorded in it and that has been elaborated by A. Stirling. The episode states the invasion of Raktavahu and the retreat of Subhanadeva, the king of Orissa with the images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra. Prof. Panigrahi identified Raktavahu with the Rastrakutas and Subhanadeva with Subhakaradeva I. However, Biswarup Das rejects the view of Prof. Panigrahi on the ground that the Rastrakutas had no ill reputation of destroying the Buddhist image (God Jagannath has been treated as a Buddhist deity) anywhere. The present writer is inclined to say that since Subhakara I assumed full imperial titles like '*Maharajadhiraja, Paramabhattaraka* and *Paramesvara*', it is definite that he was not a feudatory of the Rastrakutas. Of course, Rastrakuta invasion took place, but it was like a meteor and had no impact on the Bhauma suzerainty.

Subhakaradeva I was known for his religious toleration.Though he was a Buddhist ruler as is evident from the assumption of the title '*Parama Saugata*', he granted Komparaka village in Panchala *Visaya* and two villages of Dondaki and Yoka in Vabhyudayar *Visaya* to 200 Brahmins. Further, his queen Madhavadevi built Madhavesvara Siva temple at Viraja and appointed a *Saivacharya* for the worship of the God as is evident from the Hamsesvara temple inscription of Jajpur. Further, she also excavated a tank near the temple and established a market (*hata*) nearby.

Out and out Subhakaradev I was a brave and benevolent ruler. The Hamsesvara temple inscription describes him as a mighty king of Bhauma-Kara family. In the Bhauma records he has been described as 'a mine of good conduct and good qualities'.

Sivakaradeva II (C–800-820 A.D.)

With the accession of Sivakaradeva II, an inglorious chapter began in the history of the Bhauma-Karas. During his period, the Palas invaded Orissa. The Badal Pillar inscription of the time of Narayanapala reveals that "the Lord of Gauda (Devapala) exterminated the race of the Utkalas'. Some scholars opine that he was definitely defeated by Devapala. This fact of the Badal Pillar inscription has been corroborated by the accounts of Taranath which refers to the conquest of Utkala by Devapala.

Sivakaradeva II was a Buddhist king and was known as '*Saugatasraya*'. Of course, his queen Mohinidevi was a Saiva and she built the Mohini temple at Bhubaneswar. When the Bhauma-Karas were in utter disdain and the Bhauma Kindgom resembled "a female who had a distressful heart", Sivakaradeva II stepped down from the throne giving way to his younger brother Shántikaradeva I.

Shantikaradeva I (C– 820-835 A.D.)

The manner in which Shantikaradeva I succeeded his elder brother, proved to be a turning point in the Bhauma history. To strengthen the Bhauma power, he cemented matrimonial alliance with the Western Ganga king Rajamalla. With the help of the latter, Shantikaradeva I inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Palas. Under his leadership, Orissa soon emerged as an independent kingdom. This fact has been faintly corroborated by the

Hindol plate of Subhakaradeva III. In this context, it can be stated that Gosvaminidevi alias Tribhuvanamahadevi, whom Pandit B. Mishra and D. C. Sircar attach with Naga family is wrong, rather she belonged to the Western Ganga family, as the historical analysis reveals.

Shantikaradeva I was an effective ruler and exercised tremendous control over his feudatories. The Talcher plate of Sivakara III describes that "........ his fascinating lotus-like feet shone with the crownless heads of subjugated rulers". The Talcher plate of Subhakara IV also corroborates this fact.

Like his predecessors, he possessed noble qualities. The Hindol plate of Subhakaradeva III mentions that "he was powerful and renowned in the world". He was well-behaved, peace-loving, affable and peerless in quality. The contemporary records have bestowed lavish praise on the power and glory of the Bhauma kingdom during his reign period. Perhaps, during his time, Bhauma kingdom reached the pinnacle of celebrity.

Subhakaradeva II (C–835-838 A.D.)

The reign period of Subhakaradeva II is completely barren as nothing glorious had been attained during his reign period. From his Terundia copper plate grant it is known that he was a Buddhist and he granted a village named Lavaganda in Sulantarakurbha *Visaya* in South Tosali in favour of six Brahmins of Bharadvaja *gotra*.

Subhakaradeva III (C– 838-845 A.D.)

Subhakaradeva II was succeeded by his cousin Subhakaradeva III. His reign period, though short marked a change in the Bhauma ruling family. Because this younger branch is his charter never mentions the name of Subhakaradeva II of the elder branch.

Subhakaradeva III was known for his catholicity. By the request of Pulindraja, as Hindol Charter reveals, he built the temple of Pulindesvara at Yuvangulapatika and installed there a deity named Vaidyanatha Bhattaraka. For the maintenance of this temple, he donated a village Naddilo in the Kankavir *visaya* of Northern Tosali. His generosity is also reflected in the Dharakot plate that records the grant of the village Gundaja in the Jayantika *visaya* of Kongoda *mandala* in favour of two Brahmins named Narayana and Devakantha of Maudgalya and Kausika *gotra* respectively.

Tribhuvana Mahadevi I (C– 845-850 A.D.)

The political history of Bhauma-Karas took a new turn with the accession of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I . As Subhakaradeva III died issueless, his mother, the widow queen of Shantikaradeva I assumed the imperial title 'Tribhuvana Mahadevi' and ascended the throne. Her glory has been sung in the Talcher plate of Subhakaradeva IV as such– "She took upon the burden of the entire kindgom and shone like Sesanaga, holding up the entire earth on her hoods." Perhaps, her accession to the Bhauma throne was not without any opposition and she quelled the rebellion with an iron hand. A faint echo of it has been preserved in her own record in which she has been described to have "ascended the throne like Katyayani". She took up the title *Paramavaisnavi* as her Dhenkanal plate reveals.

Tribhuvana Mahadevi I maintained an effective hold over her vassals who showed her their "devoted loyalty". She gave an efficient administration to her subjects by appointing officers "of pure character and clean hands." Highlighting her glories, the Talcher plate of Subhakaradeva IV states, "During her rule the country advanced in three (branches of administration), the foes were exterminated, the glory spread abroad and there was harmony among the people." The *Hudud-al-Alam* states that "the royal power belongs to a woman who is called *rayina*" (rani or queen) and that the "Dahuma (Bhauma) does not consider any one superior to herself."

Tribhuvana Mahadevi I was instrumental in maintaining social harmony. She patronised Vaishnavism and was a great patron of Hari. She set an example by taking the reign of administration of the Bhauma family for the first time. This gave inspiration to the subsequent women ruler of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty.

Shantikaradeva II (C–850-865 A.D.)

Shantikaradeva II succeeded Tribhuvana MahadevI I alias Gosvamini Devi. The Talcher plate of Subhakaradeva IV states that she abdicated the Bhauma-Kara throne in favour of her grandson Shantikaradeva II when the latter grew up and became fit to bear the burdern of administration.

Though Shantikaradeva II has no inscription, available till now, still he has been referred in the records of his successors. From those records it is known that he was also known as "Lonabhara" or "Lavanabhara I" and "Gayada II". His queen was Hira Mahadevi, in the records of her son Subhakaradeva IV, she is known as '*Maharajadhiraja Paramesvari*'. This suggests that she took up the reign of administration for a short time after the death of her husband when her son was minor.

Subhakaradeva IV (C– 865-882 A.D.)

Shantikaradeva II was succeeded by his eldest son Subhakaradeva IV alias Kusumahara II. As revealed from the charters. Subhakaradeva IV showed signs of promise since his childhood. He delved deep into the inner meaning of the sacred hymns narrated in the *Sastras* when he was not even a youth. He has been praised highly in the contemporary records which depict him as a man devoted to noble human virtues like magnanimity, gentleness royal behaviour and veracity.

However, during his regime the Bhauma-Kara Kingdom had to bear the brunt of the Somavamsi aggression. By that time Janmejaya I, the Somavamsi ruler attacked Bhauma Kingdom and Ranabhanjadeva, the feudatory of the Bhaumas in Khinjali *mandala* had to cross swords with the mighty ruler of the Somavamsi dynasty. The ultimate death of Ranabhanja led Janmejaya I to annex Khinjali *mandala* to the Somavamsi Kingdom. Thus, this was the first signal of the decline of the Bhauma-Kara power. Anyway, now, Janmejaya I cemented matrimonial alliance with the Bhaumas by giving his daughter Prithivi Mahadevi to Subhakaradeva IV. This was another blunder of the Bhaumas and was largely responsible for contributing a lot to the extinction of the Bhauma authority. As envisaged, Subhakaradeva IV was a weak ruler though he possessed many good qualities.

Sivakaradeva III (C– 882-890 A.D.)

As Subhakaradeva IV died childless, he was succeeded by his brother Sivakaradeva II alias Lalitahara. Nothing remarkable is known about his reign period. In his records, he was known as '*Paramamahesvara*' and '*Paramabhattaraka*'. This shows that he was a devout Saiva. On the otherhand, he was a patron of Buddhism. This fact has been testified by his two Talcher charters which show the grant of two villages namely, Kallami in the Purvarastra *visaya* and Surdhipura in the Madhyama-Khanda *visaya* in favour of the 'Buddha Bhattaraka' whose temple has been built by Ambubhattaraka. This shows his catholicity and spirit of tolerance.

Prithivi Mahadevi alias (Tribhuvana Mahadevi II C–890-896 A.D.)

After Sivakaradeva III, Prithivi Mahadevi alias Tribhuvana Mahadevi II ascended the throne. Perhaps, this happened due to interference of her father Janamejaya I. The fact cannot be definitely asserted but the possibility also cannot be over ruled. So in her charters, she pays glowing tribute to her father Janmejaya I. In the Brahmesvara inscription of the time of Somavamsi King Udyotakesari Mahabhavagupta, it is stated that Janmejaya "drew to himself the fortune of the King of Odra country, who was killed by his Kunta in a battle". This fact along with the description of his qualities in Tribhuvana Mahadevi's charters together establish the fact that Janmejaya I was instrumental in placing Prithivi Mahadevi in the throne of the Bhauma-Karas.

At this juncture, Sankaragana, the Kalachuri king invaded Kosala and Janmejaya I remained busy in fighting with the aggressor. Taking advantage of this situation, the loyal officials of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty approached the widow queen of Sivakaradeva III to assume the Bhauma throne subsiding the claim of Prithivi Mahadevi. This led Tribhuvana Mahadevi to ascend the Bhauma throne. By that time Janmejaya I had concluded peace with the Kalachuris. However, he did not think it prudent to interfere in the administration of Tosali as Tribhuvana Mahadevi III had firmly established his position in Tosali. It appears that Prithivi Mahadevi spent rest of her life at her father's residence at Kosala.

Tribhuvana Mahadevi III (C–896-905 A.D.)

It has been stated earlier the circumstance in which Tribhuvana Mahadevi III ascended the throne. She assumed imperial titles like '*Paramabhattaraka*', *Maharajadhiraja* and '*Paramesvari*'. She was praised for her magnanimity, courtsey, beauty and valour. She was also a Vaisnava by faith. She was a pious lady. From the Dhenkanal Charter it is known that she granted a village Kontaspara in favour of one Bhatta Jagadhar, an astrologer for the purpose of bringing down rains inorder to avert the calamity of death. She reigned for a brief period of nine years.

Shantikaradeva III and Subhakaradeva V (C– 905-910 A.D.)

Shantikaradeva III and Subhakaradeva V, the son of Sivakaradeva III succeeded Tribhuvana Mahadevi III one after another. Their reign period was quite uneventful. However, peace and tranquility prevailed over the Bhauma kingdom. Regarding Shantikaradeva III, the Angul plate of Dharma Mahadevi states that he "lived happily, as fearless he was, after the extirpation of all adversaries." Similarly, regarding Subhakaradeva V, the Kumurang plate of Dandi Mahadevi states that he was "the slole repository of all kinds of prosperity". However, nothing concrete is known about his activity.

The twilight of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty (C–910-950 A.D.)

After Subhakaradeva V, the last male ruler of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, four female rulers occupied the Bhauma throne one after another. First among them was Gauri Mahadevi, the queen of Subhakaradeva V. Of course, no record of her time is available. She was however, able to preserve the law and order inside the kingdom. Praising her, the Kumurang plate of Dandi Mahadevi states "..... at her lotus-like feet was prostrate the entire population (of the kingdom)"

Gauri Mahadevi was succeeded by her daughter Dandi Mahadevi. She issued a large number of grants like Kumurang grant. Santarigrama grant, Arual grant, Ambagan grant and two Ganjam grants. She not only possessed grace and charm but successfully maintained her authority over the entire Bhauma kingdom. Further, she secured the boarders of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty from the "formidable and hostile kings, humbled by her prowess". In her records, she assumed imperial titles like '*Paramamahesvari*' '*Paramabhattarika*' and '*Maharajadhiraja Paramesvari*'. This indicates that she was a powerful ruler. This fact has been further corroborated by the donation of lands both in *Uttara* Tosali and *Dakshina* Tosali. The description of pearls and gems in her records testifies the fact, that Bhauma Kingdom was prosperous by her time.

Dandi Mahadevi died a premature death and was succeeded by her step mother Vakula Mahadevi who belonged to the Bhanja family. Nothing more is known about this ruler except the donation of a village in *Uttara* Tosali. One thing becomes clear that the Bhanjas now entered into the internal administration of the Bhauma-Karas.

Dharma Mahadevi, the wife of Shantikaradeva III succeeded Dandi Mahadevi. She was the last known ruler of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. She issued two charters, the Angul charter and Taltali charter. In the latter charter, she has been described as '*Paramabhattarika Maharajadhiraja Paramesvari*'. However, as she was a Bhanja princess, the entry of the Bhanjas in the internal affairs of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty had become crystal clear. Her rule was not significant and paved the way for the downfall of the Bhauma-Karas.

The rise of the Somavamsis under Janmejaya I had more particularly, during Yayati I signalled the down fall of the Bhauma-Karas. Yayati I who ousted the Bhanjas from Baud-Sonepur region, perhaps occupied the Bhauma kingdom by killing Dharma Mahadevi, the last ruler of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. This is evident from his copper plate grant which mentions about his donation of a village named Chandra grama in Marada *Visaya* of *Dakshina* Tosali. Thus, with the fall of the Bhauma-Karas, the reign of administration of Tosali passed into the hands of the Somavamsis.

Administration

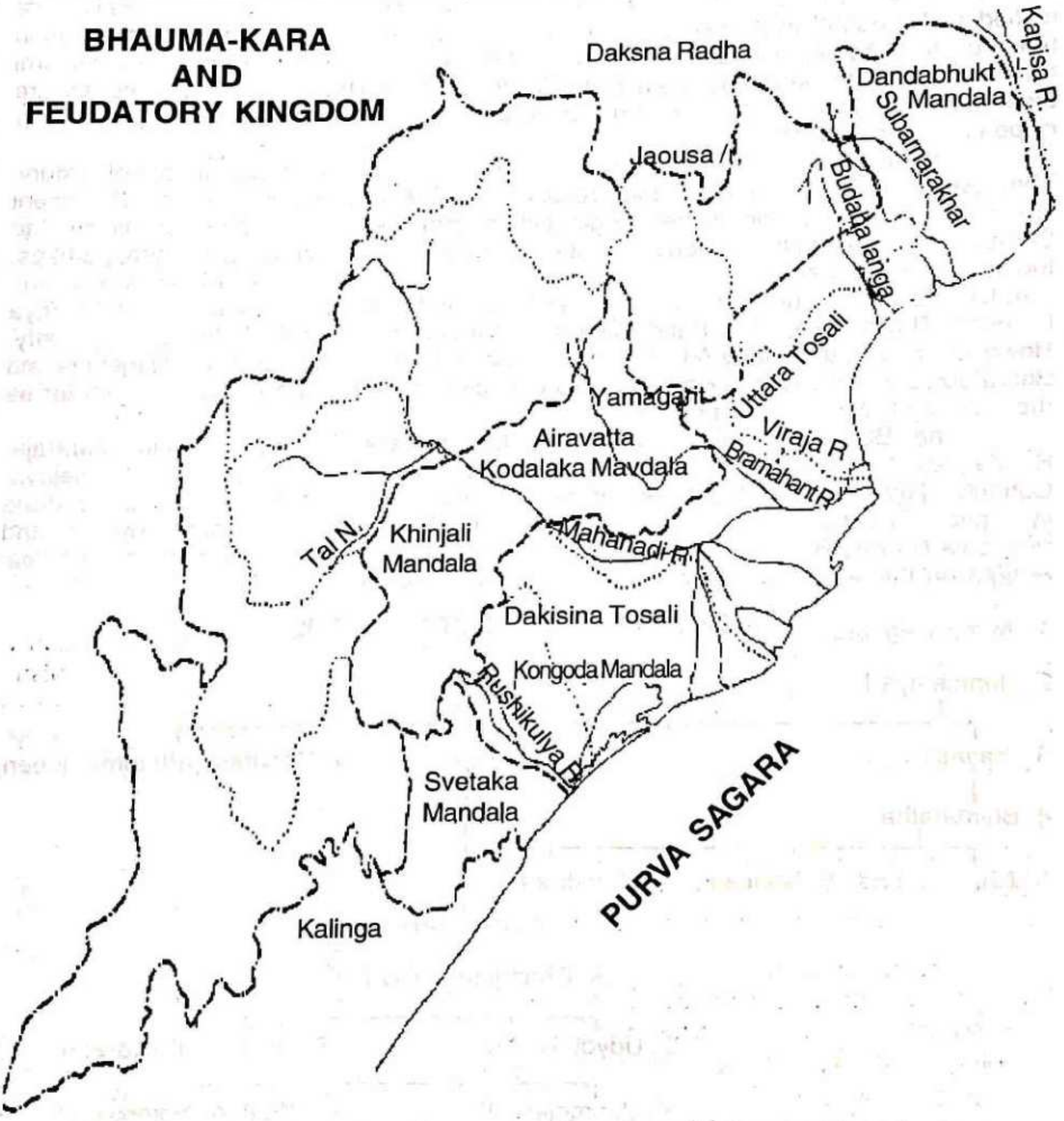
The Bhauma-Karas gave a stable administration to the people of this land. The kings used highsounding titles like '*Paramabhattaraka*', '*Maharajadhiraja*', '*Paramesvara*' etc. The form of government was obviously monarchical and the Bhauma-Karas followed the law to primogeniture. However, there was exception to it as is found particularly, with the Bhauma queens. The Bhauma kings were assisted by many officers in discharging their administration. They were *Mahasamanta, Maharaja, Ranaka, Rajaputra, Antaranga, Kumaramatya, Uparika, Visayapati, Ayuktaka, Danda pasika, Sthanontarika, Vallabha, Chata, Bhata, Pratihara, Mahasandhivigraha (ka), Mahakshapatalika, Kutakola, Dutaka* etc. The capital of the Bhauma Kingdom was Guhadevapataka (Guhesvarapataka) at Biraja in Jajpur. Though there is controversy among historians, still this is accepted with tolerable degree of certainty.

Like the Guptas, the Bhauma-Kara kings maintained good relation with their feudatories. Their kingdoms were not annexed and so, they remained as vassel states helping the Bhauma sovereign at the time of war. The Sulkis, Bhanjas and the Nandodbhavas remained as feudatories under the Bhauma-Karas. Thus, the state-craft under the Bhauma-Karas was efficient and well-organised.

The Bhauma-Kara kings were the patrons of Buddhism. During their reign period the Mahayana Buddhism reached the pinnacle of celebrity in Orissa. During their period, the evolution of Buddhism from Mahayana to Vajrajana took place. The hills of Ratnagiri, Udyagiri and Lalitgiri near Chandikhol possess various images of the Mahayana deities and ruins of some stupas. The Bhauma-Karas also patronised Saivism. The Saiva temples of Shishiresvara, Markandesvara and Talesvara in Bhubaneswar bear ample testimony of it. The figures of the couchant bull on the seals attached to most of the Bhauma copper plates are also pointers in this direction. Under their patronage, Vaishnavism also grew in this land. The Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I shows that she bore the title '*Parama Vaisnavi*', a devout worshipper of Vishnu. Similarly, Subhakaradeva IV, Prithivi Mahadevi and Shantikaradeva II were also followers of Vaishnavism. Among the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, the Bhanjas and Nandodbhavas were the followers of Vaishnavism. Saktism also received patronage from the Bhauma rulers. Their capital Guhadevapataka (Viraja) was a famous Sakti centre during that time. As discussed earlier, Tribhuvana Mahadevi I compared herself as *Katyayani* (a form of goddess Durga) in her Dhenkanal charter when she ascended the throne. The Vaitala temple, Mohini temple and Uttresvara temple in Bhubaneswar which contain the *Chamunda* figures also bear ample testimony of the patronage to the Sakta cult by the Bhauma-Kara rulers. Thus, patronising Buddhism, Saivism, Vaishnavism and Saktism, the Bhauma ruler tried to bring synthesis among Various religious cults which actually was the precursor of a new era.

The Buddhist art, archetecture and sculpture reached their perfection in Orissa during the Bhauma-Kara period. Several images of Buddha and Bodhisattava found at Udayagiri, Ratnagiri and Lalitgiri, Khadipada, Solanapura, Kupari, Tara images of Ratnagiri, Ayodhya, various Buddhist sculptures found at Choudwar, the Buddhist images of Sankaresvara temple in Salipur and Gokarnesvara temple in Dharmasala, Buddhist bronze images of Banapur etc. clearly show that the Buddhist art and architecture were given patronage during the Bhauma-Kara period.

The Bhauma-Kara rule was a landmark in the sociopolitico-cultural life of Orissa. It brought a stable administration with full control over the feudatories. The Bhauma-Kings paid attention to the growth of trade and commerce of the land. They were great builders too. The period witnessed the coherence among various religions like Buddhism, Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism. A culminating trend among these religions began during this period. Their capital Guhesvarapataka (modern Viraja in Jajpur) was studded with various temples associated with Saiva, Sakta and Vaishnava faith. However, the glorious rule of the Bhauma-Karas ended with the capitulation of power by the Somavamsis.


BHAUMA-KARA
AND
FEUDATORY KINGDOM
Daksna Radha
Dandabhukt Mandala
Kapisa R.
Subarnarakhar
Jaousa /!
Budaha langa
Uttara Tosali
Yamagarit
Airavatta
Kodalaka Mavdala
Viraja R
Bramahant R
Tal N.
Khinjali Mandala
Mahanadi R
Dakisina Tosali
Kongoda Mandala
Rushikulya R
Svetaka Mandala
Kalinga
PURVA SAGARA

Chapter – 10

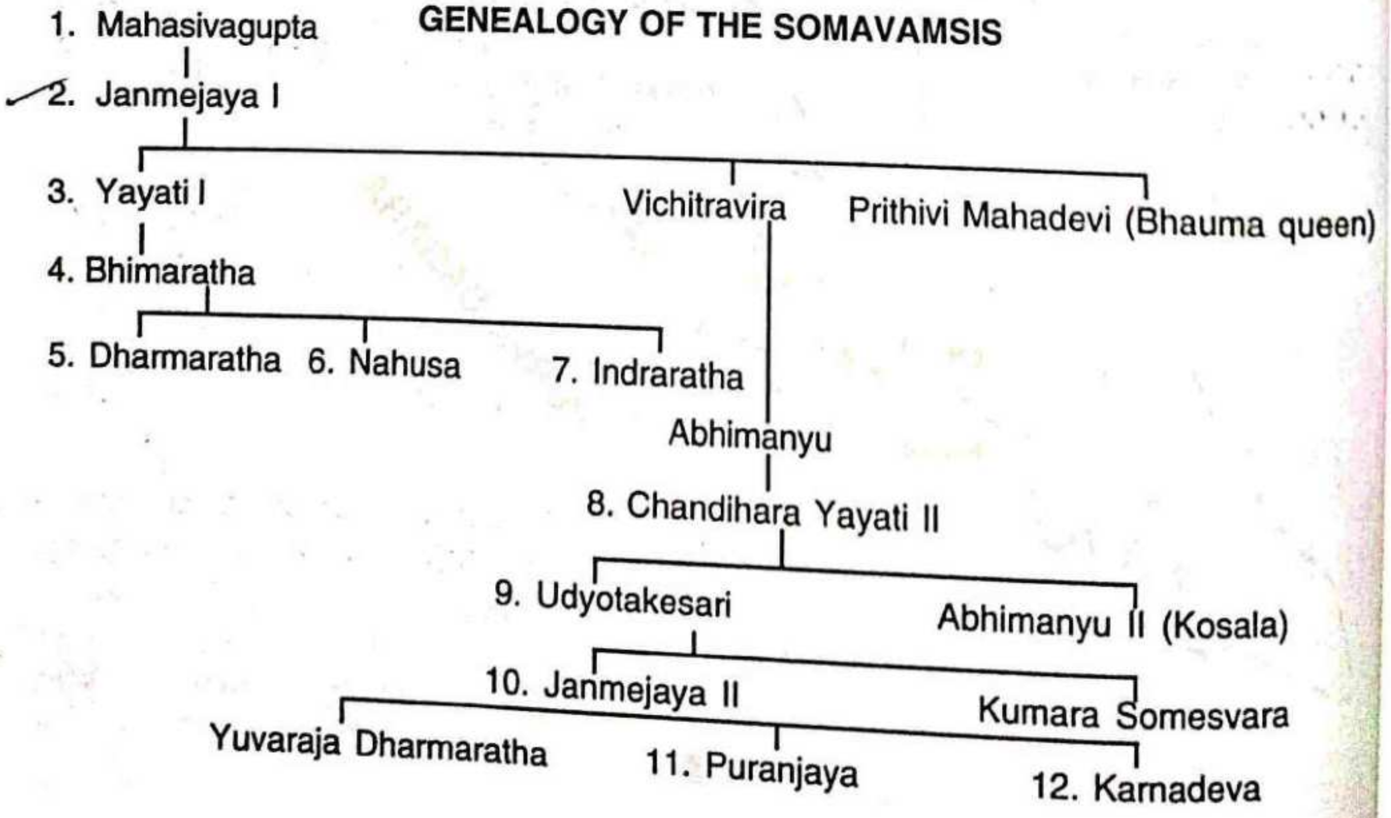
THE SOMAVAMSIS

The two hundred years rule of the Somavamsis form a glorious epoch, in the cultural heritage of Orissa. For the first time Kalinga, Utkala, Kongoda and Kosala were unified and brought under one political authority. The uniform pattern of administration removed anarchy and confusion throughout the state and paved the way for a cultural synthesis leading to the emergence of a unique Oriya culture. The Orissan temple architecture took a concrete shape during the Somavamsis and the kingdom basked in the golden glow of peace and prosperity.

The Somavamsis are also known as the Panduvamsis in the annals of history. They belonged to the family of Moon (*Chandra*) and were Kshatriya by race. In ancient times, the Kshatriya traced their origin either from the Sun or Moon. Similarly, the Somavamsis took credit of belonging to the lunar family. The Somavamsis were, perhaps, the direct descendants of the Pandava dynasty and so, they are also known as the Panduvamsis. They ruled over Mekala, identified with the modern Maikal range in Madhya Pradesh. The history of the Panduvamsis before fifth century A.D. is full with obscurity. However, in the fifth century A.D. there ruled rulers like Jayabala, Vatsaraja, Nagabala and Bharatabala in succession. However, this unnecessary detail is not necessary so far as the history of Orissa is concerned.

The Bonda Copper plates of Tivaradeva, Adhavara plates of Mahanannararaja; Bonda plates of Mahasivagupta; Patna, Kalibhana and other copper plates of Janmejaya; Cuttack, Nibinna and Patna plates of Yayati I; Kalanjar stone inscription, Arang stone inscription, Sirpur stone inscription and other inscriptions of the rulers of this dynasty and the contemporary Bhanja, Bhauma-Kara, Ganda and other inscriptions throw a good deal of light on the achievements of the rulers of this dynasty.

GENEALOGY OF THE SOMAVAMSIS


1. Mahasivagupta
2. Janmejaya I
3. Yayati I
Vichitravira
Prithivi Mahadevi (Bhauma queen)
4. Bhimaratha
5. Dharmaratha
6. Nahusa
7. Indraratha
Abhimanyu
8. Chandihara Yayati II
9. Udyotakesari
Abhimanyu II (Kosala)
10. Janmejaya II
Kumara Somesvara
Yuvaraja Dharmaratha
11. Puranjaya
12. Karnadeva

Janmejaya I Mahabhavagupta (C– 882 - 922 A.D.)

Janmejaya I was the descendant of Panduvamsi or Somavamsi dynasty. His copper plates depict his relation with Mahasivagupta, his only predecessor, who is supposed to be his father. Being driven away from *Dakshina* Kosala that comprised the undivided Sambalpur and Bolangir districts of western Orissa which he termed as Kosala whose capital was Suvarnapura (modern Sonepur), Janmejaya I, thus, became the first ruler of the Somavamsi dynasty of Kosala.

After consolidating his empire, Janmejaya I wanted to cross sword with the Bhanjas of Khinjali *Mandal* who were the feudatory of the Bhauma-Karas of Tosali. The Bhanja king Ranabhanjadeva became the victim of Janmejaya who inflicted a crushing defeat on the former and annexed the Baud-Phulbani area to his kindgom. This paved the way for the conquest of Utkala.

Now, Janmejaya I wanted to extend his sway over Utkala. It has already been stated how he was instrumental in placing Tribhuvana Mahadevi II alias Pritivi Mahadevi, the widow queen of Subhakaradeva IV on the throne of the Bhaumas. As stated earlier, though he had defeated the King of Odra; but he made peace with him perhaps, due to the fact that he had to deal with the kalachuris of Dahala. However, his endeavour to extend his authority upto Utkala was certainly commendable.

Janmejaya I also subdued the Kalachuris. In the record of his son and successor Yajati I, Subhatunga (Janmejaya I) is said to have defeated the Chaidyas (Kalachuris). Prof. K. C. Panigrahi takes king Sankaragana, the contemporary Kalachuri ruler whereas Bina Kumari Sharma thinks Lamanaraja II as the contemporary Kalachuri ruler with whom Janmejaya I had to fight. Whatever the fact might be, Janmejaya I had a rift with the Kalachuris and in that combat, victory kissed the feet of the former.

Janmejaya I was a powerful ruler of the Somavamsi dynasty. He assumed high sounding titles like '*Paramesvara*', '*Paramabhattaraka,*' '*Trikalingadhipati*' etc. In the records of his successors, he has been given great regard and respect.

Mahasivagupta Yayati I (C–922-955 A.D.)

Yayati I succeeded Janmejaya I. He not only firmly consolidated his empire but also followed a policy of expansion. Soon after his accession, he shifted his capital from Suvarnapura to Vinitapura, which has been identified with Binka around twenty-five kms. from Sonepur situated on the bank of river Mahanadi. Fifteen years after, he shifted the capital again to Yayatinagara near Baud. However, Biswarup Das identifies Yayatinagara with Jajpur which was also known as *Yayatitirtha*.

Yayati I had a rift with the Kalachuris. His two copper plate grants and also a charter of his son and successor state that he captured 32 elephants and rescued the captured women who were forcibly being taken away from Kosala by Yuvaraja, the Kalachuri king of Dahala. The charters narrate that Yayati I not only rescued the women and elephants of Kosala but also killed the protector and burnt a part of the Kalachuri country. Thus, with tolerable degree of certainty, it can be stated that he subdued the Kalachuris.

The great achievement of Yayati I was his annexation of the Bhauma kingdom into his own kingdom. Though the circumstance under which Yayati I occupied the Bhauma throne is not known, still it is definite that the territory was under the grip of his authority. In his ninth regnal year, he granted a village Chandragrama in *Dakshina* Tosali in favour of a Brahmin named Sankhapani of Odra *desa* recorded in his Cuttack plate charter. From this it is evident that he had extended his sway upto Tosali.

It was yayati I who was instrumental in subjugating the Bhanjas. From his copper plate grant of the fifteenth regnal year it is known that he offered a village named Gandharadi in the later Bhanja period as gift in the Gandhatapati *mandala*. Gandharadi is twelve miles away from Baud. It happened during the period of Satrubhanja who was defeated by Yayati I. Had it not been so, it would not have been possible on his part to grant a village at the heart of the Bhanja territory.

Yayati I was a brave warrior. Not only he crossed sword with the Kalachuris but subdued the Bhanjas and held his sway over the Bhauma kingdom of Tosali. He has been described as a person "whose glory was sung in all the three worlds, who defeated his enemies with contempt as it were and whose sword had its sharp edge made rugged with the pearls coming out of the foreheads of the elephants."

Bhimaratha Mahasivagupta I (C–955-980 A.D.)

After Yayati I, his son Bhimaratha ascended Somavamsi throne. The records of his time do not throw much light on his political career. Bilhari stone inscription of the Kalachuri king Yayati II states that Lakshmanaraja who ruled at Tripuri from around 945 to 970 A.D. "worshipped Somesvara and with the effigy of Kaliya wrought of jewels and gold which had been obtained from the prince of Odra after defeating the Lord of Kosala." This shows that by that time Odra had become a part of the Kosala kingdom. The defeat of the king of Kosala and the taking away of the effigy of Kaliya (the serpent) from Odra by Lakshmanaraja clearly shows that Odra was under the sway of Kosala and most probably the appointment of subordinate rulers for Odra started with Bhimaratha. In the Khandapara plates of Dharmaratha, he has been praised as "religious, courageous, valorous who performed wonderful activities and assumed the status of *Devaraja* (Indra)." Definitely, his rule contributed in the consolidation of the Somavamsi empire and brought peace and tranquility in the country. Of course, he suffered reverse at the hands of the Kalachuris but Kosala or any part of it had not been annexed by the Kalachuris.

Dharmaratha (C–980-1005 A.D.)

Dharmaratha who succeeded Bhimaratha was definitely a powerful ruler. His grant of a village in the Antaruda *Visaya* (Antarudra *Pragana* of the undivided Puri district) clearly shows that he was the master over the Bhauma Kingdom by then. In the Brahmesvara temple inscription, he has been described as the 'Second Parasurama'. Perhaps, he subdued the Pala power in Gauda and fought valiantly with the Estern Chalukyas of the South. In Narasimhapur charter, he is stated "to have driven away the enemies to far off regions and become the master of the coastal region from the Himalayas in the North to the *Setubandha* (Ramesvaram) in the South and the sea on the East and hills on the West." Of course, this is highly eulogistic but the fact remains that he had carried his arms upto Bengal and the South.

Nahusa (C–1005-1021 A.D.)

As Dharmaratha died issueless, his brother, Nahusa succeeded him to the throne of Kosala. His reign period was uneventful. His inefficiency might have brought unpopularity to him. Perhaps, he was killed by Indraratha, another brother of Dharmaratha, who ascended the throne after him.

Indraratha (C–1021-1023 A.D.)

Indraratha had been appointed by Dharmaratha as the governor of Kalinga. Perhaps, the aspiration of Indraratha to the throne of Kosala led him to cross sword with Nahusa. As a result, the latter with his uncle Abhimanyu were killed. Indraratha was regarded as an usurper and so, his name does not figure in the Somavamsi charters. He was defeated at the hands of Rajendra Chola and was probably killed.

Chandihara Yayati II (C-1023-1040 A.D.)

The death of Indraratha by Rajendra Chola at Yayatinagara created anarchy and confusion in the Somavamsi dynasty. At that critical juncture, the ministers declared Chandihara Yayati II, the son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vichitravira, a lineal descendant of Janmejaya as the king of Kosala.

With his accession, Yayati II paid his attention to the kingdom of Utkala which fell vacant due to the death of Dharma Mahadevi, the last ruler of the Bhauma-Karas. Yayati II immediately occupied it. Thus, Utkala was totally subjugated and amalgamated with the kingdom of Kosala.

Chandihara Yayati II was a mighty ruler of the Somavamsi dynasty. In his charter it has been described that his "footstool is kissed by the great jewels of the headgears of all kings or subordinate kings, who (in character) resembled such renowned kings as Nala, Nahusa, Mandhata, Dilipa, Bharata and Bhagiratha." In his records, he has also been credited to have conquered Karnata, Lata, Gujrat, Dravida country, Kanchi, Gauda, Radha, Trikalinga and assumed the title '*Maharajadhiraja*'. Of course, the conquest of the above mentioned territories are mere poetic exaggeration. He appears to have maintained friendly relation with Rastrakutas as during the period of Krishna III, his records never mention about himself or his army who carried arms to Kosala or Utkala. No Rastrakuta king after Krishna III also has mentioned the latter's victory over Kosala or Utkala.

Yayati II was a patron of Brahmanism. Tradition credits him of inviting 10,000 Brahmins from Kanyakubja (Kanauj) to perform Dasasvamedha sacrifice at Jajpur. It was a great landmark in the cultural heritage of Orissa and till now the memory of that noble work of Yayati II is reflected in the nook and corner of Orissa during the marriage ceremony and at the time of giving *pinda* at *Navigaya* in Jajpur, as such :

Kanauja desatsvayamahutaye
Dasasvamedhaya pura Vidatha
Martya-sthitash svarga-gatascha Vipra-
stebhya dvijebhyah pradadaicharghyam.

Yayati II is also credited with the construction of the Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar which was completed during his successor Udyotakesari. Of course, the family deity of Yayati II was Panchamvari Bhadramvika, a form of Goddess Durga.

Yayati II was the greatest ruler of the Somavamsi dynasty. He consolidated the empire firmly which was full to anarchy and confusion. His vast empire extended from the Bay of Bengal in the east to Sambalpur in the west and from Dandakabhukti to Ganjam in the south. Under his patronage, Brahmanism flourished in Orissa.

Udyotakesari Mahabhavagupta (C–1040-1065 A.D)

Udyotakesari, who succeeded Yayati II, was an illustrious son of an illustrious father. He settled score with Karna, the Kalachuri ruler who had first invaded the Somavamsi kingdom. Later on, Udyotakesari invaded Dahala and got victory over it. Similarly, the enemity that existed between Gauda and Kosala ended with the defeat of Vigrahapala II of the Pala dynasty.

As Udyotakesari faced the attack of the enemies from different directions, he divided his kingdom into two parts, *viz*, the Kosala part left under the care of his grandfather Abhimanyu and he himself ruled over Utkala portion. He also completed the construction of the Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar. His reign period marked the watermark of the dynasty.

Janmejaya II (C–1065-1085 A.D.)

With the accession of Janmejaya II, the son of Udyotakesari, disintegration of the Somavamsi dynasty set in. During his reign period, Somesvaradeva, the Chandika Naga ruler sent his general, Yasorajadeva of Telugu Choda family who occupied the Eastern Kosala. By that time, the Western Kosala also passed into the hands of the Kalachuris. Janmejaya II also faced an invasion from the Ganga king Raja Raja II of Kalinga. All these invasions brought distress to Janmejaya who breathed his last after the Ganga invasion.

Puranjaya (C–1085-1100 A.D.)

Janmejaya II was succeeded by his son Puranjaya I. During his reign period, Ratnagiri inscription states that he kept his feudatory chiefs in control. Further, he also resisted successfully the invasion of the kings of Gauda, Dahala, Kalinga and Vanga. It seems that taking advantage of the weakness of the Somavamsis, the above mentioned powers invaded the Somavamsi kingdom and paved the way for its downfall.

Karnadeva (C–1100-1110 A.D.)

Karnadeva was the last known ruler of the Somavamsi dynasty who was the brother of Puranjaya. Though in his records, he has been praised as a great ruler having full control over his feudatories, but it is not true. From his fragmented inscription preserved in the Jayadev museum, Bhubaneswar proves that his kingdom extended upto Balasore district (from Gandibeda village, the inscription is found) which was the last limit of *Uttara* Tosali. Dandakabhukti *mandala* was ruled then by Jayasimha, the feudatory of Ramapala of Bengal.

During his reign period, Chodagangadeva attacked Utkala more than once. The Ratnagiri inscription and the *Ramacharita* of Sandhyakara Nandi together justify the fact that by the help of the Palas, Krishnadeva, the shrewed and able minister of karnadeva saved Utkala from the onslaught of the Gangas. However, this resistance was feeble and at last the Somavamsi Kingdom fell a prey to the Gangas who established their sway over Utkala.

The political unification of Orissa under the Somavamsis brought with it an efficient administration. Due to political reasons, the Somavamsi kings shifted their capital from time to time. As they had no permanent capital, they issued their charters from different places like Vinitapura, Murasima, Suvarnapura and Yayatinagara. Yayatinagara, popularly identified with Jajpur, is very much familiar as the capital of the Somavamsis. The king occupied the highest position in the realm of administrative structure. No doubt, kingship was hereditary but some times the ministers had a voice in the selection of a king as happened in the case of Yayati II. When a king was minor, someone from the royal family acted as his regent. The king exercised unlimited royal power. For promoting trade and commerce inside the country the king generously gave grants to the merchant community. For the promotion of learning, they granted lands to the Brahmins. To spread Brahmanism inside the land, they patronised the Brahmin, performed several Vedic sacrifices including *Asvamedha* sacrifice. They also built a good number of Saiva temples to meet the same end. All these activities show that though the Somavamsi kings were powerful, they were not despots rather on the other hand, they were liberals and looked after the welfare of the people.

The king was assisted by many important ministers and officers. Among the ministers important were *Mantritilaka* (Chief Minister), *Mahasandhivigrahika* (Minister of war and peace and also looking after the preparation of the charter) and *Mahakshapatalika* (Minister, preparing charter). The *Mahasenapati* (Commander-in-chief) looked after the army promotion of religion and morality. Besides, a number of officers like *Samahartri, Sannidhatri, Dutaka, Niyuktaka, Dandapasika, Mahakashapataia, Mahakshapataladhyaksha, Chattas, Bhattas, Ranaka, Rajaputra* etc.

The Somavamsis divided their kingdom into several *mandalas* corresponding to a province. A *mandala* was further divided into several *bhuktis* and each *bhukti* was further subdivided into *bhoga, khanda* and *grama* which was the smallest administrative unit under the Somavamsi kings.

The economic prosperity of the country prompted the Bhauma kings to build a good number of temples which attained celebrity in the field of art. The Muktesvara temple at Bhubaneswar built by Yayati I; the Rajarani temple (also known as Indralingesvara temple) built by Indraratha; the Brahmesvara temple built in memory of Yayati II by her wife Kolavati, the Lingaraja temple started by Yayatikesari II and completed by Udyotakesari (Lalatendukesari) and several unique sculptures bear ample testimony to it.

The Lingaraj Temple was built during the Somavamsi period. *A detail description about it is found in Chapter 17 titled Art and Architecture.*

The Somavamsi kings were great patrons of Saivism. They took up royal title *'Parama Mahesvara'*. Further, they used Saivite emblem of the bull on their seals. The Saiva *gurus* like Sadasivacharya and Prathamacharya flourished during that period. The *Lakulisa Pasupata* sect which entered Orissa during the reign period of the Sailodbhavas marked its ascendency during the Somavamsi rule. The Somavamsi kings also patronised Vaishnavism. The *Madala panji* gives credit to Yayati I of building the Vimala and Mahalaxmi temples inside the premises of God Jagannath temple. The images of Ganesha, Kartikeya, Surya, Indra, Agni, Yama, the *Navagraha* etc. were largely carved out in the temple walls during the glorious rule of the Somavamsis. Saktism also prevailed in Orissa during the Somavamsi rule. The Saptamatrika temples at Puri (near Markandesvara tank), Jajpur, Ranipur-Jharial etc. show that the Somavamsis also patronised Saktism. The family deity of the Somavamsis were known as Bhagavati, Panchambari, Bhadrambika etc. in the Maranjamura charter of Yayati II. Jainaism also received patronage from the Somavamsi kings. The Lalatendukesari cave depicts that Udyotakesari had removed the decayed tanks in his fifth regnal year, restored the tuined temples and set up the images of 24 *Tirthankaras.* A large number of the Jaina Tirthankara images are found in the Muktesvara temple. It is quite clear that the *Digambara* sect of Jainisim flourished during the Sovavamsi rule. Buddhism never failed to receive the royal patronage of the Somavamsi kings. In Banapur, a number of Buddhist bronze images belonging to that period have been found. Indraratha's copper plate belonging to that place shows that he made a land grant to Khandiravati Bhattaraka, a female Buddhist deity. Many Buddhist monasteries located at Sirpur also belonged to this period. Thus, the process of synthesis which had started during the period of the Bhauma-Karas among Saivism, Vaisnavism, Saktism and Buddhism was completed during the reign period of the Somavamsi kings.

The Somavamsi rule undoubtedly ushered a new era in the history of medieval Orissa. The rulers of this dynasty were great conquerors who, by their extensive conquests, gave a geographical unity to this land by bringing a large chunk of territory comprising the undivided Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Baud-Kondamal and Ganjam districts of Orissa. Of course, their political achievements became shadowy in the foot-prints of time but their cultural activities remained uneffaceable for all times to come.

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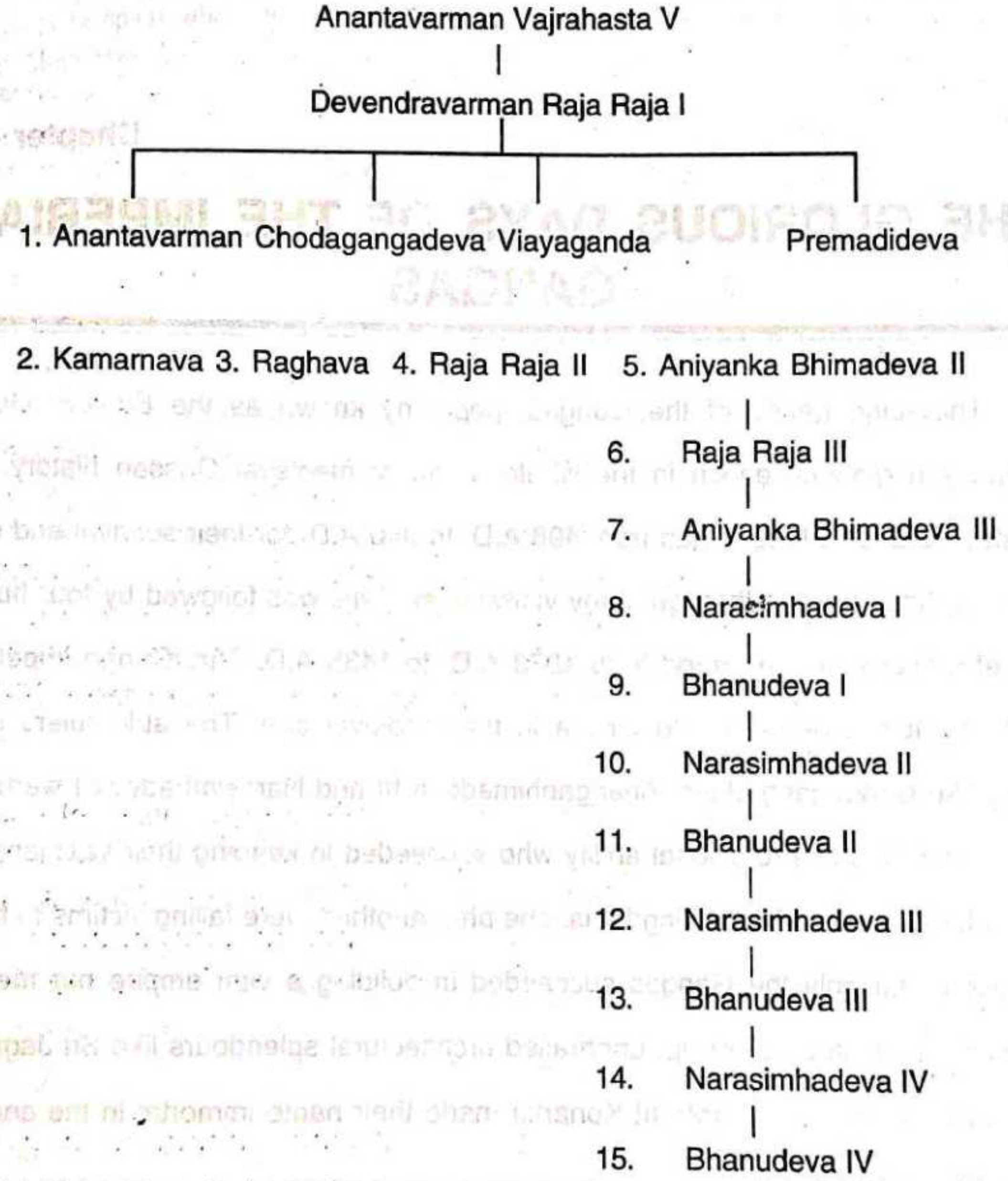
Chapter – 11

THE GLORIOUS DAYS OF THE IMPERIAL GANGAS

The reign period of the Gangas, popularly known as the Eastern Gangas, constitutes a glorious epoch in the whole range of medieval Orissan history. They struggled hard for a long period from 498 A.D. to 940 A.D. for their survival and during this phase, they passed through many vicissitudes. This was followed by four hundred years of glorious rule, a period from 1038 A.D. to 1435 A.D. This Ganga imperialism brought political stabilisation to Orissa in the medieval age. The able rulers of this dynasty like Chodagangadeva, Anangabhimadeva III and Narasimhadeva I were great warriors and men of exceptional ability who succeeded in keeping their vast kingdoms independent when the Hindu kingdoms, one after another, were falling victims to Muslim aggression. Not only the Gangas succeeded in building a vast empire but their well organised administrative set up, unparalled architectural splendours like Sri Jagannath temple at Puri and Sun temple at Konarka made their name immortal in the annals of medieval Orissan history.

The Draksaram temple inscription, Kenduli plate, Korni copper plate, Nagari plate, Kendupatana plate, Jagannath temple inscription, Chinna Badamu plates, Ronaki inscription, Kanchipuram inscription, Kapilasa inscription, Kamarnava copper plate (Choudwar) etc. form the main inscriptional scources of the imperial Gangas. Among literary works, very important are the *Madala Panji, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Tarikh-i-Firoze Shahi, Ramacharita* and *Kalingattuparani* which throw considerable light on the career and achievements of the Ganga monarchs.

GENEALOGY OF THE IMPERIAL GANGAS


Anantavarman Vajrahasta V
Devendravarman Raja Raja I
1. Anantavarman Chodagangadeva
Viayaganda
Premadideva
2. Kamarnava
3. Raghava
4. Raja Raja II
5. Aniyanka Bhimadeva II
6. Raja Raja III
7. Aniyanka Bhimadeva III
8. Narasimhadeva I
9. Bhanudeva I
10. Narasimhadeva II
11. Bhanudeva II
12. Narasimhadeva III
13. Bhanudeva III
14. Narasimhadeva IV
15. Bhanudeva IV

Anantavaraman Vajrahasta V (C– 1038-1070 A.D.)

With the accession of Anantavarman Vajrahasta V, a new era began in the history of the imperial Gangas. Prof. R. D. Banarjee writes :

> "The confusion in the history of Orissa vanishes completely from the beginning of 11th century A.D. when Vajrahasta of Kalinganagara assumed the title of *Tri-Kalingadhipati* and ascended the throne in Saka 960 Sunday, 9th April 1038 A.D."

Thus. the yoke of servitude was thrown away and the Gangas were freed from the clutches of the Somavamsi kings. As the first independent Ganga king, he used titles like *'Maharaja, Maharajadhiraja, Paramamahesvara, Paramabhattaraka* and *Trikalingadhipati'*. His title '*Trikalingadhipati*' clearly indicates that he brought Utkala, Kongoda and Kalinga under his control. He followed the policy of matrimonial alliance for strengthening his empire. His marriage with Vinaya Mahadevi, the Kalachuri princess made his position stable in the Southern India and prompted him to deal with the Somavamsis. It is presumed that he maintained diplomatic relation with distant neighbouring countries which enhanced his glory. Perhaps, he had diplomatic relation with Vijayabahu of Ceylone who was supposed to have established matrimonial relationship with a princess of Kalinga. Undoubtedly, the rule of Vajrahasta V was marked with peace and tranquility.

Devendravarman Rajarajadeva (1070-1077 A.D.)

Vajrahasta V was succeeded by his son Devendra Varman Rajarajadeva in 1070 A.D. Being pressed by the Somavamsis of Utkala and the Chalukyas of Vengi, Rajarajadeva was determined to follow a vigorous policy. He carried on his arms as far as Vengi, defeated Kulottungachoda alias Rajendrachoda II, who gave the hand of his daughter Raja sundari to Rajarajadeva.From Dirghasi inscription, it is known that Vanapati, the Brahmin minister and commander of Rajaraja inflicted crushing defeat upon the rulers of Vengi, Utkala, Khimidi, Gidrisingi, Kosala and Chola. The acquisition of the neighbouring territories by following a vigourous policy of aggrandisement enabled Rajarajadeva to bring stability to the Ganga rule. He took up the independent highsounding titles like '*Parama Mahesvara, Paramabhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja* and *Trikalingadhipati*'. He breathed his last in 1077 A.D.

Chodagangadeva (1077-1147 A.D.) ①

With Chodagangadeva, rose the imperial sun of the Ganga empire in the political horizon of Orissa. The death of Devendravarman Raja Raja I in 1077 A.D. brought a marvellous ascendancy to his son and successor Chodagangadeva. Chodagangadeva was a product of Rajaraja I, the Ganga monarch and Rajasundari, the daughter of valiant Kulottungachoda. That is why, he is perhaps famous as Chodagangadeva or Cholagangadeva.

War with the Cholas

In the initial years of his accession to power, Chodagangadeva had to face Chola menace which befell upon Kalinga as a meteor. It was caused perhaps due to the marriage of Chodagangadeva with Chodadevi, the daughter of Virachoda, a son of Kulottungachoda. This was perhaps against the will of Kulottunga and thus, his son Virachoda was ousted from governorship of Vengi. This led Virachoda to take shelter at the court of Chodagangadeva, and so, the latter had to bear the brunt of Kulottungachoda's aggression. This war took place around 1093-94 A. D. Chodagangadeva lost the southern part of Kalinga which was occupied by the Cholas. However, Chodagangadeva never lost his heart. With increasing power and potentiality, he defied the payment of tribute to the Cholas as has been reflected by the *Kalingattuparani* composed by Jayamagondam, the court poet of Kulottunga. As a result the Cholas marched to Kalinga and fought with Chodagangadeva who defeated them and occupied Vengi. This led the expansion of the Ganga dynasty upto Vengi in the Western direction.

Conquest of Utkala

The weakness of the Somavamsis of Utkala allured the attention of Chodagandadeva to subjugate it under his suzerainty. The Corni copper plate grant of Chodagangadeva says-

Purvasyandi purvamutkalapatim
Rajyam nidhaya chyutam
Paschat Paschima diktate Vighatitam
Vengisam pratoyoh
Laxmi Vandhanamalikamiva
Jayasritornasthambhaya
Vandatisma Samvradha Kirthivibhavaih
Sri Gangachudamani

It means-

> "Chodāgangadeva, the gem of the Ganga dynasty first defeated (replaced) the weak (fallen) Lord of Utkala in the eastern region and then the waning Lord of Vengi in the western region and restored their fallen fortunes"

Conquest of Vengi

The above description makes the fact clear that Chodagangadeva waged war against the kings of Utkala and Vengi simultaneously. He first defeated the king of Utkala whose name appears as Karnadeva in the *Ramacharita* of Sandhyakaranandi. It is a fact that Karnadeva or Karnakesari, the last ruler of the Somavamsi dynasty was defeated by Chodagangadeva. After that, the Ganga empire extended upto Utkala in the eastern direction. After the annexation of Utkala, Chodagandadeva had annexed Vengi as is suggested by the above mentioned copper plate grant. The year of occupation of Orissa by Chodagangadeva might have taken place around 1110 A. D.

Relation with the Palas of Bengal

Being flushed with success, Chodagandadeva next looked towards Bengal. The death of Ramapala had weakened the Pala supremacy. Taking advantage of this Chodagangadeva attacked Bengal beyond Dandakabhukti. He defeated the weak and feeble ruler of Dandakabhukti and brought under his control its capital city Aramya. Of course, sources do not throw light on the ruler of Dandakabhukti. However, Vaidyadeva, the able minister of Kumarapala had offered a stubborn resistance to the Orissan monarch as is revealed from the copper plate of the former.

The achievement of Chodagandadeva in relation to Bengal is known from the Nagari plate. Most of the scholars identify *Mandaragiri* of the Nagari plate with Garh Mandaran (now known as Bhitargarh) situated eight miles west of Arambagh and around fifty miles from the Ganges. Its capital *Aramya* has been identified with the present

Arambagh in the Hoogly district of West Bengal. In the task of the conquest of Bengal, Chodagangadeva was most probably assisted by Samantasena, the Sena King of Radha (South-West Bengal), the arch enemy of the Palas and the founder of the Sena dynasty in Bengal. He was appointed by Chodagangadeva as his nominee to rule over this Suhma teritory. Vijayasena, the grandson of Samantasena, established cordial alliance with Chodagangadeva and became the master of Radha *desa*. By these extensive conquests, Chodagangadeva became the master of a vast kingdom stretching from the river Ganges in the north to that of Godavari in the south and was recognised as the most powerful king in the South-Eastern India.

Other activities

Chodagangadeva had several names befitting to his status. He was known as Anantavarman, Chalukya Ganga, Virarajendra Chodaganga, Vikrama Gangesvara and Gangesvara Deva bhupa. From his Ronaki inscription, it is revealed that he bore titles like '*Maharajadhiraja, Trikalingadhipati, Sri Gangachudamani, Rajaparamesvara, Paramabhattaraka, Paramamahesvara, Paramavaisnava*' etc. These high sounding and pompous titles show that Chodagangadeva was undoubtedly great king of the Ganga dynasty.

Though Kalinganagara was the capital of his empire, but he made Sarangagarah another political head-quarters of the empire. Kalinganagara has been identified by the scholars with modern Mukhalingam on the river bank of Vamsadhara in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. The reason behind this is obvious as Sarangagarah (near Baranga in Cuttack district) was almost centrally located in the vast empire of Chodagangadeva. Besides, he also built several strong forts like Jajpur Kataka, Amaravati Kataka (near Chhatia) Choudwar Kataka, Saragagarh Kataka etc.

The vast empire of Chodagangadeva needed stabilisation and consolidation which became a stern reality by the introduction of a well organised administration. Being a foreigner to this alien land Chodagangadeva could very well realise his duty towards the people of Orissa. He devoted himself for the material prosperity of his subjects by executing various humanitarian and welfare projects. This made him popular among his Orissan subjects.

Chodagangadeva was a patron of literature and admirer of the learned men. His inscriptions bore brilliant testimony of the fair knowledge of Sanskrit, Oriya and Telegu literature that he possessed. Being a good conversationalist, he was also well acquainted with the Vedic lore. He displayed his talent in fine arts and poetical composition. Science had its progress during his age. Satananda composed *Bhasvati*, a manual of rules to determine the position of the heavenly bodies.

As an outstanding ruler, Chodagangadeva was famous for his religious toleration. Though, he was a great devotee of Lord Gokarnesvara in the Mahendra mountain at his earlier days but later on, he became a loyal follower of God Jagannath at Puri. Still then, he never imposed his personal religion upon anybody. His construction of the temple of Jagannath at Puri and the endeavour to bring all religious faiths in the fold of a single cult, i.e. the Jagannath cult was a landmark in the religious history of this land. A. K. Panda is right in his observation thus, "In the history of international religion and culture, Chodagangadeva opened a new horizon with the universal slogan of equality, fraternity oneness and amity."

As a builder, Chodagangadeva left his mark in the field of art and architecture. He had started the building of the great temple of God Jagannath at Puri which was completed by Anangabhimadeva III. However, it is controversial that Chodagandadeva started the construction of the temple of God Jagannath. The verse "*prasadam Purusottamasya.... adi nrupairupeksitam ayam Chakretha Gangesvarah*" of the Dasgoba plates of Rajaraja III which means that the (construction of) place of Purusottama (God Jagannath)........ abandoned by earlier kings was taken up by *Gangesvara* (Chodagangadeva). As the earlier Ganga kings had no chance of doing the same, the credit goes, with all probability to Yayati I, the Somavamsi king(discussed in the last chapter in connection with art and architecture of the Somavamsi period). As discussed previously, Chodagandadeva was also instrumental in building several forts in several strategic places for the protection of his vast empire from the onslaught of the enemies. A *Sati* memorial column worshipped inside the fort of Kasiagarh near the village Dalua on Chandaka– Khurda road is known as Chudanga Dariani (probably the concubine of Chodagangadeva). A part of the Puri town named Chudangasahi suggests that it was probably built by Chodagangadeva. The glorious career of Chodagangadeva came to an end with his death in 1147 A.D. His wife Kasturikamodini built a Jagannath temple at Tekkali in 1150 A.D. to preserve the memory of her deceased husband.

The seventy years long rule of Chodagangadeva is a glorious epoch in the medieval Orissan history. Of course, his discomfiture in the hands of the Kalachuri ruler Ratnadeva II could not enable him to have his sway over Sambalpur-Sonepur-Bolangir tract. Still then, the vast empire extenidng from the Ganges to the Godavari definitely establishes the fact that Chodagandadeva was a great military genius. As an administrator, patron of art, architecture and culture and a liberal ruler, Chodagandadeva is a remarkable figure in the whole range of the Ganga rule in Orissa.

Kamarnava (1147-1156 A.D.)

Chodagangadeva was succeeded by his eldest son Kamarnava through his wife Kasturikamohini. His brief rule for a decade was mostly devoted to the fight against the Kalachuis for the possession of Sambalpur-Sonepur-Bolangir tract. Like his father, he was unsuccessful in his mission. A notable event during his reign period was that he performed the *Tulabharam* ceremony by which he weighed himself against gold which he distributed among the Brahmins and his courtiers.

Raghava (1156-1170 A.D.)

The death of Kamarnava led his younger brother Raghava to ascend the Ganga throne in 1156 A.D. He was another son of Anantavarman Chodagandadeva through his queen Indiradevi. He also took up high-sounding title, *'Anantavarma Devidasa Ranaranga Raghava Chakravarti.* Perhaps during his reign period Kulottunga Rajendrachoda II of

Velanadu attacked Kalinga and got some success. Among his two inscriptions found inside the *Jagamohana* of the Lingaraja temple, one describes about Jayadeva, a reputed poet of Orissa for his immortal creation *Gitagovinda*. His reign was comparatively peaceful and tranquile.

Rajaraja II (1170-1190 A.D.)

As Raghava had no son and successor, his step-brother Rajaraja II succeeded him. He was another son of Chodagandadeva through his queen Chandralekeha. With his revived the lost glory of the imperial Gangas. At the beginning of his reign, he recovered the lost territory of the Gangas extending from Simhachalam to Godavari during Kamarnava and Raghava. However, with the attack of Prithivisvara, the Velanati Chola ruler over Kalinga who extended his sway upto Srikurmam, Rajaraja II had to accept the supremacy of the former and remained under him as a vassel king. The victory of Lakshmanasena, the Sena ruler of Bengal and the contemporary of Rajaraja II over Utkala is rejected by scholars because it is untenable. Jayadeva, the great poet of the time also flourished during the reign of Rajaraja II. He was succeeded by his brother Anangabhimadeva II.

Anangabhimadeva II (1190-1198 A.D)

As Rajaraja II died childless, he was succeeded by his brother Anangabhimadeva II. His reign was placeful and it witnessed vigorous activities in the building of many Saivite temples. His brother-in-law, Svapnesvaradeva constructed the famous Meghesvara temple at Bhubaneswar. Probably, he built Sovanesvara Siva temple at Niali. He undertook massive works of public welfare like building of roads, digging of wells and tanks, construction of high compound walls etc. He patronised men of letters and looked after the material and spiritual well being of his subjects. He breathed his last in 1198 A.D.

Rajaraja II (1198-1211 A.D.)

Rajaraja III, the son of Anangabhimadeva II by his queen Bhughalladevi succeeded his father in 1198 A.D. His reign witnessed the increasing desire of the Muslims to invade this land. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Qazi Minhaj-us-siraj informs that under the instruction of Bakhtyar Khilji, Muhammad Sheran and Ahmad Sheran had advanced to occupy Lakhnor (in Bengal) and Jajnagar (Jajpur in Orissa). The death of Bhaktyar Khilji, while leading the Muslim army in a campaign against Kamarupa (Assam) put a stop to the plan. However, the Muslim governors of Bengal continued their attacks on Orissa during the reign of his successors.

Aniyanka Bhima or Anangabhimadeva III (1211-1238 A.D.)

(3)

With Anangabhimadeva III, rose the imperial sun of the Gangas to the meridian. He ascended the Ganga throne in 1211 A.D. after the death of his father Rajaraja III. The reign period of Anangabhimadeva III added many feathers to the already dazzled cap of the Gangas. Not only the Kalachuris were subdued, Muslim invasion was retarded and Kakatiyas were crushed, but his policy of materimonial alliance also brought stability to the Ganga empire providing a stumbling block to the Muslim inroad.

Repulsing Muslim invasion

After his accession, Anangabhimadeva III had to face the aggressive march of the Muslim army of Bengal under the command of Ghiyas-ud-din Iwar, who succeeded Alimardan to the throne in 1215 A.D. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* informs that Ghiyas-ud-din I waz, the Khilji ruler received revenue from Jajnagar, Kamrup, Tirhut and several other places. However, this fact does not find corroboration from any other source. On the contrary, the Chatesvara inscription of Anangabhimadeva III found in the village of Krishnapur in the undivided Cuttack district refers to the defeat of the Muslim governor at the hands of Vishnu, the Brahmin minister of Anangabhimadeva. The inscription describes :

> "How are we to describe his (Vishnu's) heroism during his fight against the Muslim King ? He fought drawing arrows upto his ear killing many famous warriors, which became a grand feast to the sleepless and un-winking eyes of the gods who were interested onlookers in the heaven above."

Thus, it can be stated with historical anlysis that anangabhimadeva III did not pay any tribute to Iwaz rather foiled the latter's attempt by inflicting a crushing defeat upon him. It is known that between 1211 and 1215 A.D. Angangabhimadeva had fought with Ghiyas-ud-din Iwaz, defeated him and saved Orissa from the Muslim menace.

Conquest of the Sambalpur-Sonepur-Bolangir tract

The greatest achievement of Anangabhimadeva III as a conqueror was his victory over the Kalachuris. The Chatesvara inscription describes that Vishnu, the Brahmin minister of Anangabhimadeva III defeated the king of Tumanna on the bank of river Bhima at the skirts of the Vindhya hills and on the sea-shore. Though scholars like N.N. Vasu and M. Somasekhara Sharma identify Tummana with a person but most of the scholars relate it to a place as the expression of the above mentioned inscription "*Tumanna-Prithivi-Pathe*" means "Of the king of Tummana land". The place in question is most probably the South Kosala where the Kalachuris or Haihayas were ruling. Perhaps, the Ganga imperialism had prompted Anangabimadeva III to cross sword with Dakshina Kosala in order to put an end to the Ganga-Kalachuri struggle that had started during the reign of Chodagandadeva. This victory of the Ganga monoarch pushed the limit of the Ganga empire covering a large chunk of area comprising Sonepur-Bolangir-Sambalpur tract. From the records, it can be presumed that *Tummana* came under the away of Anangabhimadeva III in or around 1220 A.D.

Matrimonial alliance

Anangabhimadeva III was a shrewd diplomat. He wanted to cement matrimonial alliance with the Kalachuris for maintaining the far flung Ganga empire for the realisation of that end, he gave his daughter Chandrika in marriage to the valiant Kalachuri prince Paramadrideva. By this materimonial alliance ended the long prevailed antagonism and hatred between the Kalachuris and the Gangas. The united strength of the Gangas and Haihayas became unchallengable in North-Eastern India and gave a solid resistance to the Muslim invasion when Paramadrideva, his son-in-law joined hands with Narasimhadeva I in the latter's fight with Tughril Tughan Khan of Bengal.

Invasion of Kanchipuram and Srirangam

Taking advantage of the weakness of the Cholas, the Kakatiya king Ganapati invaded the Chola empire. The records of Ganapati shows that he had his sway over the coastal districts to the east of Warangal and Kalinga. This political development prompted Anangabhimadeva to interfere in the Chola politics of the South. He marched with his grand army and overran Kanchipuram and Srirangam. This fact finds ample corroboration in the Allalanatha temple inscription of Kanchipuram where Somaladevi Mahadevi, the queen of Anangabhimadeva III recorded a valuable gift on the south wall of the said temple. By this conquest, the Ganga empire crossed the river Godavari and extended upto Krishna. This event took place around 1230 A.D.

Transfer of Capital

The Allalanatha temple inscription of Kanchipuram shows that Anangabhimadeva III transferred his capital from Kalinganagar to *Abhinava Varanasi Kataka* (Cuttack) on the bank of river Mahanadi. Earlier, Chodagangadeva had made Sarangagarah, a second centre of political activities of the Ganga empire, but Anangabhimadeva completely shifted the capital to the centre place like Cuttack. He named it after Varanasi, the sacred place of pilgrimage of the Hindus. With all probability, it can be stated that he must have completed this work by 1230 A.D. The same inscription depicts that Anangabhimadeva III dedicated his vast empire to Purusottama (Jagannath) who became its master and the emperor being his *Routa* or deputy. Not only Cuttack became a centre of political activities in future but it also helped for cultural synthesis in Orissa in later times.

As a builder

Anangabhimadeva III was also a great builder. Though the *Madala Panji* gives him credit for building the Jagannath temple at Puri, however, in the light of research it has been concluded that he had finished the building of this temple which was started by earlier kings (Yayati I not Chodagangadeva). The Chatesvara Siva temple was built by Vishnu, the Brahmin minister of Anangabhimadeva III at Kisenpur, a village situated around midway between Cuttack and Kendrapara. The Dakra Bhimesvara temple, also known as Vibhisanesvara temple situated at a short distance of the eastern gate of the compound of the Lingaraj temple is also a mounment of his time. A small temple named Anantesvara, situated to the south of Lingaraja, consists of three chlorite stone images of Balarama, Subhadra and Krishna. A. K. Panda opines that these images were installed in the compound of the Lingaraja temple during the period of Anangabhimadeva III who dedicated the whole kingdom to God Purusottama at Puri. Inspired by her father, Chandrikadevi also built Anantavasudeva temple at Bhubaneswar during the reign of Bhanudeva I.

Other activities

Anangabhimadeva III was a great devotee of Vishnu. He had also great respect for Saivism and Saktism. The Draksharam inscription of 1216 A.D. declares him as the deputy of Purushottama, Rudra and Durga. The Nagari plate inscription credits him of celebrating *Hiranyagarbha Mahadana* and *Tulapurusa Mahadana*. It also reveals his numerous gifts of lands to several Brahmins.

As a benevolent ruler, Anangabhimadeva undertook massive humanitarian works for the welfare of his subjects.The Chatesvara inscription refers to the construction of roads and temples for the general and religious purposes of his subjects. The *Madala Panji* reveals that he undertook the great work of land settlement in the whole of Orissa with the help of his revenue ministers like Damodara Badapanda and Isana Pattanayaka.The total land revenue collected during his reign amounted four crores and forty-three lakhs of *tankas*. The revenue, thus collected, was spent definitely for the welfare of his people.

For the first time in medieval Orissan history, Anangabhimadeva showed a bright example of preserving places of historical importance. His Lingaraja temple inscription refers to the fact that he donated five *Vatikas* of land to a potter for repairing roofs of the *Mandapas* of that temple in every twelve years, two *Vatikas* of land were given to a lime-maker for whitewashing the walls of the *mandapa* once in a year and one *vatika* of land was given to a sweeper for sweeping the *mandapa* thrice a day.

Anangabhimadeva III was a great patron of learned men. He granted lands to the Brahmanas who were well-versed in the *Vedas, Puranas* and *Vyakaranas*. He also donated lands to the *mathas* which were, by that time centres of education, religion and culture. From Nagari plates it is inferred that Anangabhimadeva III ruled his empire by following *Dharma* and *Niti* texts.

Anangabhimadeva III died in 1238 A.D. As a great warrior, administrator, diplomat, pious man, lover of scholars, protector of all religious faiths, preserver of historical monuments.... he left an indellible mark in the medieval Orissan history.

Narasimhadeva I (1238 - 1264 A.D.)

The accession of Narasimhadeva I to the throne of Orissa in 1238 A.D. led the Ganga empire to its zenith. His twenty-six years of glorious rule witnessed an unprecedented growth in every aspects of the Ganga administration. His aggressive and offensive military policy exerted great feat in the minds of the Muslim rulers of Bengal and Oudh. This led the imperial Gangas to the pinnacle of power, glory and splendour. For the first time, he bore the title '*Gajapati*' exhibiting the vast possession of elephants and this title was borne by the later Ganga rulers occassionally and by the Suryavamsi kings invariably. The Sun temple at Konarka was the magnificent creation in the field of architecture that brought Narasimhadeva immortal fame. He was popularly known as *Langula* Narasimhadeva among the people of this land because his royal robe touched the ground like a tail when he moved.

Aggression on Bengal

With his accession in 1238 A.D., Narasimha I followed the policy of aggressive imperialism. By that time, Tughril. Tughan Khann (1233 - 1246 A.D.) had become the governor of Bengal. After consolidating his position, Narasimha marched with his grand army aided by Paramadrideva, his brother-in-law towards Bengal in 1234 A.D. The Orissan army overran a number of semi independent Hindu *rajas* of the neighbouring area, east of the river Ganges and made a calculated move to northern Radha, the territory of Tughri Tughan Khan. At this juncture, Tughril Tughan gave a clarion call to all the Muslims for a *zihad* (holy war) against the Hindus. Even Qazi Minhaj-us-Siraj joined his holy war.

In his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* Minhaj gives a graphic description of the war. By 1244 A.D. Tughril Tughan launched a counter attack on the Orissan army. Gaining some initial success, the Muslim army compelled the forces of Narasimhadeva to retreat towards their frontier fort Katasin (Kantei in the Midnapur district of West Bengal) which was surrounded by jungles and cane-bushes and provided strategic defence to the Orissan army. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* states as such :

> "On Saturday morning 6th of *ziqudah* 641 (16 April, 1244 A.D.) the Turks delivered an attack on the fort of Katasin, carried two ditches after hard fighting and put the Hindus to flight who left some elephants behind. As it was the time of mid-day meal, Tughril-Tughan recalled his troops from the assault and ordered that nobody should vex the elephants which were evidently left in their place on the other side of the second ditch. The soldiers of the army of Islam were busy in preparing or eating their meals. A party of the Orissan soldiers made a sortie from the direction of the fort to take away the elephants they had left behind in the morning and simultaneously a small detachment of two hundred footmen and fifty *sawars* stole their way from behind a cane-jungle and rushed upon the rear of the Muslim army. The panic spread to the whole army of Tughril-Tughan Khan. At any rate, the army of Orissa kept up a hot pursuit, and the Turks did not make a stand even in their own fort of Lakhnor, seventy miles north-west of Katasin..... The Muslims sustained an overthrow and a great number of those holy warriors attained martyrdom".

Tughril-Tughan Khan retired to Lakhnauti in order to save his life. His rule over Radha came to an end.

The victory of Narasimhadeva I over the Muslim army has been described in the Anantavasudeva temple inscription as follows :

"Yad-vamse Vaijayanti pataiva Subhatonangabhima Prabhavah
Pradhvasta-rati-raja-vraja-yuvati-janodgita-gambhira sarah
Asid-asivlsarer-adhikatara-taras-tadag-garvo-rugarbha sonte
Svanta-prasarpat Javam-api javanam Samgare Sanjahara". (Verse–3)

Paramananda Acharya translates the verse as such :

> "In his lineage (Chodanga's) was like a flag the heroic Anangabhima whose profound strength was celebrated by the power and who was exceedingly proud of his swift horses, the speed of which surpassed that of the snake's for Garuda. He (Narasimha I) made an end of the war by defeating the Yavanas with impetuosity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier."

The account of Minhaj regarding the war between Tughril and Narasimha has been corroborated by the Ananta Vasudeva temple inscription and it definitely established the fact that Narasimha extended his sway upto Radha by defeating Tughril-Tughan Khan.

Further, Narasimhadeva's victory over the Muslim army has been described in the Kendupatana copper plates of Narasimhadeva II as follows,

> "The white river Ganga blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by the tears from the eyes of weeping *Yavanis* of Radha and Varendra and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement was now transformed by that monarch (Narasimhadeva I) into the black-watered Yamuna."

Narasimhadeva did not retire after conquering Radha. He wanted to extend his sway upto Varendra. By that time Lakhnauti consisted of two main divisions– Radha and Verendra, situated on either side of the Ganges. Lakhnor was the headquarters of Radha while Diwkot was that of Varendra. Having his sway over Radha, Narasimhadeva directed his army against Varendra. The Orissan army ransacked the Muslim territory at Bengal and created panic in the minds of the Muslims. Being fearful, Tughril Tughan Khan appealed to Sultan Alauddin Masud Saha of Delhi to come to his rescue who sent Quamuruddin Tamur Khan, the governor of Oudh to help Tughan Khan. However, after reaching Bengal, Tamur had a sharp difference of opinion with Tughril Tughan who was ultimately driven away from Bengal and Tamur Khan continued as its governor till his death in 1246 A.D.

Balban, the ablest Sultan of Delhi Sultanate appointed Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Yuzbak as the governor of Lakhnauti. Again Narasimhadeva carried on his arms upto Bengal. Minhaj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* informs that four battles were fought between Yuzbak and Narasimha from 1247 to 1256 A.D. Again, the leader of this battle from the side of the Orissan army was Paramadrideva whom Minhaj mentions as *Sabantar*. In the first two battles, Yuzbak gained success. In the third one he sustained discomfiture at the hands of Orissan army. He asked for military aid from Delhi and marched towards Umurdan. The accounts of Minhaj runs thus :

> "........... Malik Yuzbak asked assistance from the court of Delhi and then marched with an army from Lakhnauti into the territory of Umurdan and unexpectedly reached the Rae's capital (which city they style Umudran). The Rae of that palace retired before Malik Yuzbak and the whole of the Rae's family, dependants and followers and his wealth and elephant fell into the hands of the Musalman forces."

The Rae of Orissa was definitely Narasimhadeva I and Umurdan has been variously identified with Mandaran, Amrakantaka and Amarda. To the present writer the identification of Umurdan with Amarda (in the Mayurbhanj district) seems more plausible as the Muslim army came to Jajnagar (Jajpur), they might have followed the route through Amarda (Umurdan) of Mayurbhanj district. However, in this great battle Paramadrideva, the valiant son-in-law of Anangabhimadeva III and brother-in-law of Narasimhadeva I lost his life which was an irreparable loss to the Gangas, on the one hand and the Haihayas, on the other.

The victory of Yuzbak has been corroborated by the issue of silver coins from the mint of Lakhnauti in memory of the conquest of Umardan. However, after his death, Lakhnauti came under the direct grip of Delhi Sultanate and Narasimhadeva subjugated Bengal, Midnapur, Howrah and Hoogly to the kingdom of Orissa.

War with the Kakatiyas

Not only Narasimhadeva I subdued the Muslims but created panic in the mind of Kakatiya ruler Ganapati. The Lingaraj temple inscription refers to a struggle which took place between Ganapati and Narasimha. Though scholars opine differently regarding the doner of his inscription, Pandit Suryanarayana Das reads the text with slight modification, and instead of reading '*Viravara Kesari*' he reads it as *'Viranara Kesari'* whom he identifies with Narasimhadeva I. He takes Rajaraja of the text to be Rajaraja III whose *tanuja* (son) was Anangabhimadeva III whose *atmaja* was Narasimhadeva I.

Ganapati (1299-1160 A.D.) was a very powerful ruler of Kakatiya dynasty who must have invaded the southern part of Kalinga grabing some portions of it as is known from the Bhimesvara temple inscription. As has been rightly pointed out by A. K. Panda that there might have been frequent struggle between the two kings and Narasimhadeva must have inflicted a crushing defeat upon Ganapati.

As a builder

As a builder, Narasimhadeva's achievement was unparalled. The magnificent Sun temple at Konarka bears the excellence in the field of art, architecture and sculpture. The world is taken aback even at the survival of the *Jagamohana* (Porch) though the main temple has been ruined. The elephants, horses, wheels, geometrical designs, obscene sculptures, conventional foliage, human and divine figures etc. allure the attention of millions of tourists all over the world who visit the shrine.

Other activities

Narasimhadeva I was not only a great military genius or builder but also he was a great statesman of his time. His sound administration was marked with catholicity. Out and out he was a champion of the cause of the Hindus. His Lingaraj temple inscription reveals that he constructed a monastery called Sadasiva *Matha* in the *Ekamrakhetra* (Bhubaneswar). This monastery was the asylum for the refugee Hindus who came from Gauda and Radha being oppressed by the Muslim rulers.

Narasimhadeva I was a great patron of Sanskrit literature. Vidyadhara, his court poet composed his famous *Alankara* work *Ekavali* which describes the achievements of Narasimhadeva I. His court was adorned with great men of letters as is gleaned from the language and style of different inscriptions of his period.

Narasimhadeva was famous for his religious toleration. If the Sun temple at Konarka makes an impression that he was a great devotee of sun God his Kapilasa inscription terms him as *Sri Durga Putra, Sri Purusottam Putra* and a devotee to God Mahesvara. He definitely followed the policy of his father Anangabhimadeva III.

Narasimhadeva I bore the high sounding titles befitting to his status. The *Ekavali* crowns him with the title *'Vavanani Uallabha'* the Lingaraja temple inscription adorns him with the title '*Vira-Nara-Kesari-Dharadhipa*' and the Kapilash inscription entitles him as '*Gajapati*'. Really, he was worthy of such titles. His glorious rule came to an end in 1264 A.D. His fame has been immortalised in the heart of every Oriya due to his heroism and splendid creation of the Sun temple at Konarka.

Bhanudeva I (1264-1279 A.D.)

Bhanudeva I succeeded to his father Narasimhadeva. Yuzbak, the Governor of Bengal marched as far as Jajnagar (Jajpur) in or around 1275 A.D. and took away some elephants. It is presumed that the Muslim sway was extended upto Jajpur. Bhanudeva was a benevolent ruler. His donation of lands, mango gardens and trees to the Brahmins shows that he promoted Brahmanism. The coming of Narahari Tirtha, the Dvaita Vedantin and his acceptance of the images of Rama and Sita from Bhanudeva I suggests that the worship of Sita-Rama began during his reign period. However, the disintegrating tendency of the Ganga empire started right from the days of Bhanudeva I when several feudatories like Matsys of Oddadi, the Chalukyas of Elamancili and the Pallavas of Virakutam showed defiant attitude towards the Ganga suzerainty. During his reign, Chandrikadevi, the daughter of Anangabhimadeva III and the wife of Paramadrideva built Anantavasudeva temple at Bhubaneswar.

Narasimhadeva II (1279-1306 A.D.)

With the death of Bhanudeva I, his son ascended the throne in 1279 A.D. Being minor, he came under the regency of Narahari Tirtha for long twelve years. During his time Tughril Khan-i-Yuzbak, the governor of Bengal tried his strength with Balban, the Sultan of Delhi. So, Narasimhadeva II enjoyed a comparatively peaceful time during his reign period. He facilitated trade and commerce by improving communication facility and brought prosperity to the land. He, like his forefathers, bore highsounding titles like *'Vira Narasimhadeva, Sri Narasimhadeva, Pratapa Vira Sri Narsimhadeva'* etc. He also performed *Tulapurusadana*. He patronised the Brahmanas and established many Brahmana *shasanas* (villages). His court was crowned with the men of letters. Among them, Sambhukara Vajapeyi's *Sraddhapaddhati*, Vidyakara's *Nityachara Paddhati* and *Karmadipika* and Sankhadhara's *Smriti Samuchaya* were famous Sanskrit works of the time. He breathed his last in 1306 A.D.

Bhanudeva II (1306-1328 A.D)

With the accession of Bhanudeva II, the era of decline of the Ganga empire moved a step ahead. After subduing Warrangal in 1323 A.D. Ulugh Khan (Juna Khan, later on sultan Muhammad Tughluq) had a raid in Jajnagar area who took away forty elephants from him. This clearly shows that Bhanudeva II had to deal with the Muslims. However, no loss of any part of the Ganga territory is evident during his reign period. The fact remains that the aggressive imperialism of the Gangas had taken a halt. He also considered himself as the 'Deputy of God Jagannath (Purusottama). In toto his reign period was peaceful to a considerable extent.

Narasimhadeva III (1328-1352 A.D.)

With the death of Bhanudeva II, Narasimhadeva III ascended the throne in 1328 A.D. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Musunuri Nayakas, the Reddies and Velemas carved out independent Kingdoms in the coastal Andhra region. At this juncture, the death of Toyyeeti Anavota Nayaka (who was ruling over that region on behalf of Kapaya Nayaka, the Musunuri ruler), Narasimhadeva III considered it as a golden opportunity to extend his sway upto Srikakulam. However, that victory was short lived because Anavota Reddi, a powerful Reddi ruler forced the Kalingan army to retreat upto the boarder of Kalinga crossing of Godavari river. Thus, the Ganga empire was gradually leaning towards its decline. He died in 1352 A.D.

Bhanudeva III (1352-1378 A.D.)

The death of Narasimhadeva III led his son Bhanudeva to ascend the Ganga throne in 1352 A.D. His reign period witnessed a turbulent phase in the glorious rule of the Gangas. During his time, Iliyas Shah, the governor of Bengal, defied the authority of Firoz Shah, the Sultan of Delhi and thus, a war between the two was inevitable. Prior to it, in or around 1351 A.D. Iliyas had invaded Jajnagar. Of course, no territorial loss to the Ganga empire is known from any source. Some scholars do not believe this fact because the enumeration about the battle given in the *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* by an anonymous author finds no corroboration in any other contemporary sources. Further, the help rendered to Iliyas Shah by Bhanudeva III in 1353-54 A.D. in defeating Firoz Toghluq who retreated towards Delhi suggests that Iliyas had never attacked Jajnagar, opine several scholars. However, to the present writer, the probable attack of Iliyas to Jajnagar is tenable. Scholars are of the opinion that his attack on Jajnagar around 1351 A.D. and receiving help from Bhanudeva III around 1353-54 A.D. are two contradictory things and so the former fact seems improbable. Here, the author humbly puts forth his opinion that though Iliyas had attacked Jajnagar around 1351 A.D., the march of Firoz Shah to settle score with him struck terror in his mind who never found any alternative except seeking the help of the Orissan king. At this juncture, Bhanudeva III might have thought it prudent to help Iliyas because he wanted to get rid of any possible attack to his kingdom from the side of the Sultan of Delhi (Firoz Tughluq). Now question may arise, why such feat entered into the mind of the Ganga king ? It was only because the Muslim raid to Jajnagar by Ulugh Khan during the reign period of Bhanudeva II had never effaced from the minds of the Gangas. To avoid possible attack from Delhi, Bhanudeva III might have thought it prudent to help Iliyas to avert any menace from Delhi, even if Iliyas had attacked Jajnagar around 1351 A.D.

The friendship that Bhanudeva III developed with Iliyas became costly for the former. To avenge his defeat, Firoz Tughluq invaded Bengal in 1357 A.D. and Sikandar Shah who had succeeded his father Iliyas Shah, negotiated with Firoz Tughluq. In 1360 A.D., All in a sudden Firoz marched towards Jajnagar and the Ganga King Bhanudeva III was not at all prepared for that. The trechery of some of the officers of Bhanudeva III, helped Firoz to inflict a crushing defeat on the Orissan King who concluded peace treaty with the Sultan of Delhi. The destruction of the Puri Jagannath temple by the Muslim invaders described in *Tarikh-i-Firoze Shahi* finds no corroboration in any other contempory source and as such, the fact is not accepted by most of the scholars.

Misfortune was falling upon the Ganga empire one after another. In 1356 A.D. Vijayanagara empire launched an attack on the Ganga kingdom under the able command of Sangama, the nephew of Bukkaraya I, who defeated Bhanudeva III and snatched away the southern empire of the Gangas. Further, Anavema Reddi, the powerful Reddi ruler crossed the river Godavari and subjugated the Ganga empire upto Simhachalam under his suzerainty in 1375 A.D. During his reign period, the glory of the Ganga was shattered into pieces. King Bhanudeva III styled himself as 'Sri Vira, Pratapavira Bhanudeva and Vira Sri Bhanudeva'. He breathed his last in 1378 A.D.

Narasimhadeva IV (1378-1414 A.D.)

With the death of Bhanudeva III, his son Narasimhadeva IV ascended the Ganga throne in 1378 A.D. In 1386 A.D. directed by Kumaragiri, his brother-in-law, Kataya Vema attacked South Kalinga and devastated Cuttack. It is evident from the fact that he assumed the title *Kataka Chudakara* after this invasion. Narasimhadeva IV had no alternative but to sue for peace by offering the hands of his daughter to Kumara Anavota, the son of Kumaragiri. The conflict between the Reddis and Velemas in the South weakened the Reddi power and taking advantage of this Narasimhadeva started to consolidate his sway over South Kalinga. However, the Ganga military power declined further during his reign period. The Oriya language and grammer developed due to his initiative. He patronised Brahmins, scholars and men of letters. The land breathed a peaceful atmosphere during his reign.

Bhanudeva IV (1414-1435 A.D.)

The death of Narasimhadeva IV in 1414 led his son Bhanudeva IV to ascend the throne in the same year. As downfall had already begun in the Reddi empire, Bhanudeva IV in association with Devaraya I, the king of Vijayanagara, attacked the Reddy territory, Allada Reddi of Rajahmundry had to conclude peace with both the kings of Utkala and Vijayanagara. The *Chandrakala Natika* of a great Orissan poet, Viswanath Kaviraj gives credit to Bhanudeva IV with the conquest of Gauda (Bengal). He had marched towards Bengal to save the Hindus from the clutches of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah. However, there is no solid source material to establish this fact. He took up royal titles like *'Srivira Bhanudeva, Gajapati Pratapa Vira Sri Nisanka Bhanudeva'* etc. He was the last ruler of the Ganga dynasty. When he was busy in his southern campaign against the Reddis, Kapilesvara Routraya, his trusted minister betrayed him and by the help of the Brahmins usurped the throne thereby putting an end to the glorious rule of the Gangas.

Administration

The four hundred years unbroken rule of the Gangas constitutes a golden epoch in the annals of medieval Orissan history. The Gangas had carved out a vast kingdom stretching from the Ganges in the north, to Godavari, in the south. The king was the central figure of the administrative set up. The Ganga kings assumed high sounding titles like *'Maharaja, Maharajadhiraja, Parama Mahesvara, Paramabhattaraka, Trikalingadhipati, Paramavaisnava, Chakravarti, Gajapati'* etc. They ruled the country in accordance with the principles laid down in the *Niti* and *Smriti* texts. They looked after the material prosperity and spiritual well-being of their subjects. Undoubtedly, the aim of the kings was the fulfilment of the desire of their subjects concerning *Trivarga* (three goals) i.e. *Dharma, Artha* and *Mokha* (piety, material prosperity and salvation respectively). Among the powers of the king, appointment of ministers, imposition of taxes, exemption of the subjects from taxes, building of temples, declaration of war and conclusion of peace, grant of lands to Brahmins, conduction of tours to different parts of the empire to acquaint with the problems of the subjects etc. were important. The Ganga kings were assisted by several officials like *Mantri, Purohita, Yuvaraja, Sandhivigrahika, Senapati, Dauvarika* etc.

The provincial administration of the Ganga was efficient and well organised. For administrative efficiency, the Ganga empire was divided into several provinces known as *Visayas* in the early Ganga records. There were Visayas like *Varahavartani Visaya, Puskarani Visaya, Panchapatra Visaya, Lohasringara Visaya, Kusamandala Visaya, Antaruda Visaya, Ravanga Visaya* etc. Further, there is mention of *Panchali*, a political division of the administrative set up about which nothing definite is known. Five Panchalis like *Dagha Panchali, Devana Panchali, Korosotaka Panchali, Pushyagiri Panchali and Chikhali Panchali* are known from the records of the early Ganga kings. Similarly, another political division named *bhoga* is known from the records of the feudatory rulers under the Ganga. During later times, a province under the Gangas was various known as *Desa, Dandapata* or *Mandala* governed by *Desadhikari, Dandadhikari* (or *Dandapariksha*) and *Mandalesvara* (or *Mandalika*) respectively. In later times, the Ganga province was further divided into several districts (*Visayas*) governed by *Visayapati.* The visaya was further subdivided into *Khandas* (in the Orissa portion of the Ganga empire) or *Nadus* (in the Andhra portion of the Ganga empire). Village was the lowest administrative unit under the Ganga rule. The towns and cities during the Gangas were under the able administration of officers like *Maji* and *Veharana.*

The revenue system under the Gangas was quite sound. A variety of taxes like *bheta, Voda, Paika, Ohour, Paridarsana* etc. were being collected as is gleaned from the Ganga inscriptions. Though there were various types of courts to decide different types of cases, but the Ganga king was the final arbiter of law and the fountain of justice. Law and order inside the empire was perfectly maintained by an able officer named *Dandapasika*. Though infantry and cavalry divisions were there in the Ganga army, but elephants constituted a very important part of the Ganga army as the records of the later Ganga kings shows that they invariably used the title *Gajapati.* Thus, the Ganga kings were benevolent despots who always looked after the welfare of the people following the dictum "*Praja sukhe Sukham Raja, Prajanam to hite hitam*" (on the happiness of the subjects, lias the happiness of the king and in their welfare, his welfare). They were also great patrons of art, architecture and literature. Really, by their unbroken rule around four hundred years, they projected a well-organised political set up which guided the future rulers of the Suryavamsi Ganapati dynasty and after. Undoubtedly, the Ganga administration brought peace, tranquility and stability to the people of Orissa for four centuries which is unparalled in the administrative history of this land.

Art and Architecture

The Ganga period left its indelible foot-prints in the field of art and architecture. That period was famous for the construction of temples. The economic prosperity of that time led the Ganga monarchs to build gigantic structures in stone. Besides the construction of new temples, the addition of *Natamandapa* and Building of subsidiary temples for the *Parsvadevatas* were some of the special features of that period in the field of art. Among the temples of the Ganga period, the Jagannath temple at Puri and the Sun temple at Konark (see Chapter 17) were very famous and assure the attention of the tourists even today.

The four hundred years of glorious rule of the Gangas is unique in many sense in the history of medieval Orissa. The land was united politically and culturally. The Orissan school of architecture reached the zenith during the reign period of the Gangas. The Sanskrit literature developed to a greater extent during that period. The overall picture of this period, socio-economic-political and cultural, testify to the fact that peace and transquility prevailed all over the empire during the reign period of the mighty rulers of the Ganga dynasty.

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Chapter – 12

THE SURYAVAMSI GAJAPATIS

Hard Pressed by the Muslims of the north and southwest with frequent internal disturbances, Orissan kingdom under the later Eastern Ganga rulers had become decadent weak and ineffective. The country badly needed a military leader who could bring back under control all the refractory chiefs who had declared their independence. On the other hand, the Muslim invaders who had shrivelled the extent of this land were to be rebuffed. At this critical juncture, emerged Kapilendradeva to gratify the need of the people of Orissa and laid the foundation of the Suryavamsi dynasty on the ashes of the Eastern Gangas.

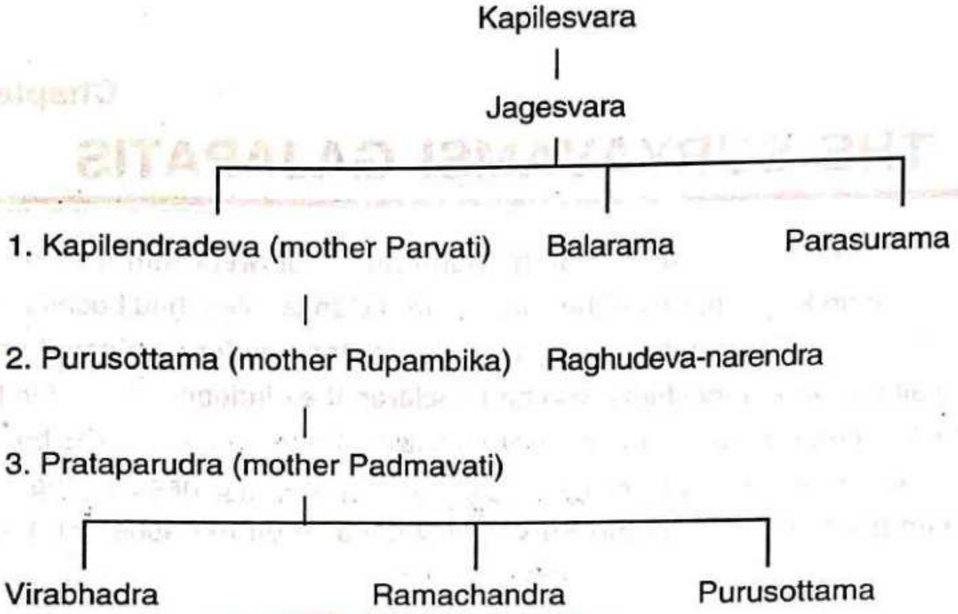
Gajapati Viruda

As is apparent, the Suryavamsi rulers traced their origin to the Sun God. The title 'Gajapati' or 'Lord of elephants' was invariably born by the rulers of this dynasty. As discussed earlier some Eastern Ganga rulers also bore 'Gajapati' title but they were not famous as Gajapati rulers. Perhaps the royalty of the rulers of this dynasty owed a lot to the possession of a large number of elephants. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Orissa reached the zenith of its glory under the Suryavamsi kings. The Suryavamsi Gajapati kings were not only noted for their aggressive imperialism but their rule for a century and a little more marked the renaissance in Oriya literature.

Sanskrit literary works like the *Parasurama Vijaya, Abhinava Venisamharam, Sarasvati vilasam, Jagannatha vallabha, Prabodha Chandrodaya etc,* Oriya works like the *Madala Panji, Sarala Mahabharata, Chaitanya Bhagavata, Jagannatha Charitamrita* etc. Bengali literary works like the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, *Chaitanya Mangala* etc. Telugu works like *Manucharitam, Krishnarasa Vijayamu* etc, Persian works like the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Akbarnamah,* Burhan-i-Ma'asir etc. from literary sources of the Suryavamsi Gajapati period, Similarly, the Velagalani copper plate inscription, Lingaraj temple inscription, Puri Jagannath temple inscription, inscriptions found from Simhachalam, Sri Sailam, Srikurmam and further Velicherla copper plates, Kondavidu inscription etc. constitute the inscriptional sources for the Suryavamsi rule in Orissa.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SURYAVAMSIS

(As per the grant of Raghudeva-Narendra)


Kapilesvara
Jagesvara
1. Kapilendradeva (mother Parvati)
Balarama
Parasurama
2. Purusottama (mother Rupambika)
Raghudeva-narendra
3. Prataparudra (mother Padmavati)
Virabhadra
Ramachandra
Purusottama

Gajapati Kapilendradeva (1435-1467 A.D.)

Gajapati Kapilendradeva, the rising sun of the imperial line of the Suryavamsi monarchs, was undoubtedly a great ruler of medieval Orissa. The *Madala panji* describes him as an adopted son of Matta Bhanudeva (Bhanudeva IV), the last Ganga king who was childless. On the other hand, the *Gangavamsanucharitam* of Vasudeva Ratha reveals that Kapilendradeva usurped throne of the Gangas when Bhanudeva IV was fighting in a distant place. It states :

Kritva rajyam akamtakam kila samam
Kamdum bhuja-damdayoh
Hartum niryati tatra digvijaya-krite
durvara dorvikrame
Sunyayannripa nirgamena suchiram
Sa rajadhanikrita
Tattasysam Kapilendradevamanagham bhupam
Vyadhur mamtrinah.

Some inscriptions of Simhachalam corroborate this fact revealing that Bhanudeva IV was carrying on potracted struggle against the Reddis of Rajahmundry in distant south by that time. Had it not been so, Kapilendra would not have crowned himself at *Kritivasa kataka* i.e. Bhubaneswar rather at Cuttack which was the citadel of Ganga power. Perhaps, out of the fear of the feudatories, he accomplished the coronation work at Bhubaneswar with great hasty. Further, had he been adopted as son of Bhanudeva IV, he would have described himself as a Ganga king in his own records and also the records of his successors would have described him as a Ganga king. On the other hand, he himself, his sons and grand-sons, all have been described as the member of the Suryavamsa. The story of Kasia-Kapila, Kapila as a cow boy, a thief, etc. and his selection by the Ganga king Matta Bhanudeva by the will of and Jagannath........ all had been designed to legitimatize his claim to the throne and thus, are far from historical facts.

With his accession in 1435 A.D. Kapilendradeva found the throne of Orissa as a burning cauldron. In the South, the Reddi rulers of Rajahmumdry were extending their frontiers further north. Form the North, the country was threatened by the Sultan of Bengal. The distant Malwa also tried to take advantage of the revolution of local chiefs and feudatories to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kapilendradeva.

At that critical juncture, Kapliendradeva took immediate steps and by his army subdued the rebel chiefs like the Matsyas of Oddadi, the Salivamsi chiefs of Nandapura, the Vishnuvardhana Chakravartins of Panchadharala and the Gangas of Khimindi His Lingaraj temple inscription reveals thus :

> "........... all kings of my kingdom of Orissa should work for the good of the paramount sovereign and should keep to virtuous ways and not remain in bad ways. If they act badly towards their sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their property confiscated."

This order definitely directed the defiant chiefs to acknowledge the suzerainty of Gajapati Kapilendradeva.

With his accession, he started 'Kapilabda'. The above mentioned Lingaraj temple inscription was issued in the 7th regnal year of Kapilendradeva. It clearly indicates that by 1442-43 A.D., the task of quelling the internal rebellions by Kapilendradeva had been accomplished. After subjugating the recalcitrant feudatory chiefs, Kapilendra embarked upon the policy of aggrandisement which earned him a good name as a great hero of the Gajapati dynasty.

Gauda

With his accession, Kapilendradeva wanted to settle score with the Illyas Shahis of Bengal. Taking the internal squabbles of the Sarquis of Jaunpur, the Gangas had extended the frontier of Orissa upto the river Bhagirathi (Ganges). Perhaps, Kapilendra, while fighting against the combined army of the Reddis of Rajahmundry and Vijayanagara empire (discussed the forth coming pages), received the news of the attack of sultan Nasiruddin Abul Muzzafar Mahmud Shah of Bengal. He rushed immediately and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him extending the sway of Kapilendradeva upto the river Ganges. In an inscription dated 1447 A.D., Kapilendradeva assumed the title '*Goudesvara*'. So, definitely by 1447 A.D., Bengal (Gauda) was under the sway of Kapilendradeva. However, the attack of Sultan Mahmud Sharqul of Jaunpur in 1457 A.D. and his son in 1458 A.D. and Kapilendra's negotiation with them as per Ferishta's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* have not been ascertained by any other corroborative evidences. One thing is affirmed that Kapilendra had won victory over Bengal. Had it not been so, he would not have assumed the title '*Gaudesvara*'.

Rajahmundry

Virabhadra I, the Reddi ruler of Rajahmundry posed a great problem of Kapilendradeva in checking the southward progress. An inscription at Draksharam dated 1444 A.D. clearly proves that by that time Rajahmundry was under the control of the Vijayanagara empire. Before his engagement with Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur, Kapilendradeva had suffered a set back at the hand of Mallappa Odeyar sent by the ablest ruler of Bahamani, Devaraya II when Kapildndra had attacked Rajahmundry.

With the death of Devaraya II in 1446 A.D. the Vijayanagara empire became weak under his son and successor Mallikarjunaraya. The hold of Vijayanagara over Rajahmundry became weak. Taking advantage of his situation, Kapilendradeva despatched a grand army under his son Hamvira for the occupation of Rajahmundry. Hamvira defeated the Reddis with ease and Rajahmundry was annexed to the empire of Kapilendradeva. Raghudeva Narendra Mahapatra was appointed as the Governor of Rajahmundry. The task of subjugating Rajahmundry was accomplished before 1448 A.D.

Kondavidu

For a few years, Kapilendradeva postponed his conquest in the South as he had to pay attention towards his northern frontier. The inscription of Mallikarjuna at Matamura in the Guntur district dated August 19, 1453 testifies the fact that the territory to the South of Krishna was under the authority of the Vijayanagara empire. Taking advantage of the weakness of Mallikarjuna Kapilendra's army crossed the krishna river and occupied Kondavidu. Kapilendradeva appointed Ganadeva Routaraya, one of his relations as the *Pariksha* of Kondavidu. An inscription at Chintapallipadu in the Guntur district dated April 12, 1454 records Ganadeva Routaraya's gift to a temple. Thus almost whole of the Guntur district passed into the hands of Kapilendradeva before April 1454. Now, he became the master of the Reddi Kingdom of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu.

Telingana Coast

Being flushed with his success, Kapilendra wanted to extend his sway upto Telingana coast that lied between Rajahmundry and Bahamani Kingdom. Telingana had important forts like Rachakonda, Devarkonda and Warangal. They were under the occupation of the Bellama chiefs of Telingana. Their support to Devaraya II, the king of Vijayanagar in a war against Bahamani enraged Alauddin ahmad Shah who through Sanjar Khan subdued the Bellamas, describes *Burhan-i-Maasri*.

Alauddin Ahmed Shah II was succeeded by his son Humayun Saha who appointed Malik Shah as the governor of Telingana. Sikandar Khan, the son of Jalal Khan revolted against this decision of Humayun Shah. Aided by Linga, the Bellama chief of Devarkonda, Jalal Khan took up arms against Humayun shah and was killed by the latter. Humayun wanted to punish Linga. Linga appealed Kapilendradeva to render military service to him.

Kapilendradeva readily extended his helping had to Linga. The Bahamani forces sustained a total defeat at the hands of the combined army of Orissa and Devarkonda in 1458 A.D. After this, the Bellemas of Devarkonda, Rachakonda and Warangal became vassels of Kapilendradeva against Bahamani Kingdom. This victory over Devarkonda led Kapilendradeva to assume the title '*Kalavargesvara*'.

Bahamani Kingdom

The death of Humayun Shah in 1461 created appropriate situation for Kapilendradeva to invade Bahamani kingdom. Now Kapilendra with his grand army aided by the Bellama chiefs marched towards Bidar, the capital of Bahamani kingdom. Sultan Nizam Shah was only eight years old. The Hindu army plundered and devastated the country while proceeding towards the capital of Bahamani kingdom. The fall of the Muslim Kingdom was inevitable. However, at that juncture, Kapilendradeva had to retreat. Ferishta informs that the Hindu army took refuge in a fort and Kapilendradeva had to pay a large sum of money and retreated. This description of Ferishta is to be taken with a pinch of salt. If a critical analysis is made, it will be apparent that Kapilendradeva had no chance to surrender to a weak and feeble minor ruler of the Bahamani kingdom. On the other hand, it can be presumed that the long absence of the Orissan army from the capital led the Muslim ruler of Bengal to attack Orissa and Kapilendradeva had to retreat to deal with sultan Hussain Sharqui of Jaunpur. However, after setting score with the Sultan of Bengal, Kapilendra again marched towards Bahamani kingdom with renewed vigour and captured Hahur, Bidar and several other places that rightly led him to justify the title '*Kalavargasvara*'.

Vijayanagara Empire

The death of Devaraya II and the succession of his son in 1447 A.D. created an opportunity for Kapilendradeva to cross sword with the Vijayanagara empire. Saluva Narasimha the subordinate ruler of Chandragiri under the Vijayanagara empire was dreaming of building his own castle over the Vijayanagara empire. The internal mal-administration of the empire prompted Kapilendra to attack that country.

To materialise his plan, Kapilendra first wanted to conquer Udayagiri fort which occupied a strategic position of the Vijayanagara empire in the coastal regions. By the instruction of Kapilendra, his lieutenant Tamma Bhupala conquered it in 1460 A.D. as an inscription of the top of Udayagiri hill of the same year records the construction of a temple. After the conquest of Udayagiri, Basava Bhupala, son of Tamma Bhupala was appointed as its governor.

With Udayagiri as base, Hamvira, the valiant son of Kapilendradeva, marched along the coastal line of the Vijayanagara empire, Now, Mallikarjuna transferred Saluva Narasimha, the ruler of Chandragiri *rajya* to the central division of his empire with Vinukonda as its capital. This made Chandragiri *rajya* weak. Pasupati Tamma Bhupati, a lieutenant of Kapilendradeva, attacked the fort of Chandragiri and occupied it sometimes before 1464 A.D.

Controversy prevails over the occupation of Vijayanagara empire by Orissan army. The Anantavaram plates of Prataprudradeva state that Kapilendra sent his son Hamvira to conquer Hampi, the capital of Vijayanagara who succeeded in conquering it and forcing the emperor to pay tribute it states :

Prasahya Karnata-mahipateh puram
Nirudhya vidyanagarim nijairbalaih
Samunnatam ivocchriyam Karam
Samadade Karkasa-chakri-Vikramah

The *Gangadasa-Vilasa Charitam* confirms the fact stating that the Gajapati (Kapilendradeva) in combination with the Hayapati (Bahamani Sultan) wanted to humiliate the young emperor of the Vijayanagara empire but the latter came out like a cub of the lion from his den and defeated the combined army of the *Gajapati* and *Hayapati*. R. Subramanyam brings a solution to this riddle by his opinion that though Hamvira defeated the Vijayanagara army but the whole Vijayanagara Kingdom did not come under the sway of the Gajapati ruler of Orissa.

That Hamvira had proceeded upto Trichinapolli is evident from an inscription in Sriranga temple which records a gift of cows in 1464 A.D. by '*Dakshina* Kapilesvara Kumara Mohapatra'. After the conquest of Tanjor and Trichinapolli regions, Hamvira stopped his agressive march. The grandson of Kapilendra named Kumara Kapilesvara Mohapatra was appointed as the Viceroy of the conquered territories in 1464 A.D. By extensive conquests of Kapilendradeva, the Orissan empire extended from the river Ganges, in the north to Kaveri, in the south.

Last days of Kapilendradeva

The last days of Kapilendradeva were full of sorrows and difficulties. Though, diplomatically he nominated Purustottamadeva, his younger son as his successor by the will of God Jagannath, it could not be accepted by Hamvira with ease. When a fatricidal war was imminent between the two brothers, news of the loss of territories reached Kapilendradeva. In the North, Ruknuddin Barbak captured Mandaran fort. In the South, Saluva Narasimha occupied his previous kingdom driving out the Oriya army from that territory. The internal squables between Hamvira and Purusottama and the loss of territory made Kapilendra weak and he breathed his last most probably in 1466-67 A.D.

In evaluating Kapilendradeva, it can be stated that he was a great military genius out and out. The credit goes to him of becoming the founder of the Suryavamsi rule in Orissa. The spirit with which he subdued the refractory chiefs and firmly established the Suryavamsi regime is certainly commendable.

He bore high-sounding titles befitting to his status. By putting an end to the Ganga rule in Orissa, he bore the title '*Gajapati*'. After conquering a part of Bengal, he justified his title *Gaudesvara*. His conquest of a part of the Bahamani kingdom and his expedition to Bidar led him to assume the title '*Kalavargesvara*'. After conquering a part of the

Vijayanagar empire, he entitled himself as *'Navakoti Karnata'*. *'Navakoti'*, perhaps meant 'nine crores' of people of the parts of Bahamani kingdom and Vijayanagara empire. Thus, the pompous title of Kapilendradeva was *'Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara'*. After centuries of military inactivity, Kapilendradeva brought Orissa into the chess board of Indian politics breaking her isolation. He defeated his contemporary rulers like Mahmud Shah, Humayun Shah, Mallikarjuna and Saluva Narasimha. As a result, he created a vast empire stretching from the river bank of the Ganges to that of Kaveri.

Kapilendradeva was a great patron of literature. He himself was an accomplished scholar in Sanskrit. His play *Parasurama Vijaya* shows that he was a dramatist of no mean order. This drama had been staged before God Jagannath during a Mahotsava, informs the *Madala Panji*. During his reign period, Nrusingha Vajapayee, a famous *Advaitavadin* had written a commentary named *Samkshepa Saririka Vartika* on Sankaracharya's work *Samshepa Saririka*. The first renaissance started in Oriya literature during Kapilendradeva. Sarala Dasa's Oriya *Mahabharata* represented the totality of Orissan culture. His *Vilanka Ramayana* and *Chandi Purana* were two other great works.

Not only Kapilendradeva was a patron of poets and men of letters but he was a great builder too. He constructed the outer-wall of the Jagannath temple at Puri. He also established Kapilesvarpura and Damodarapura *Shasana*. Perhaps, he constructed the temple of Kapilesvara near Bhubaneswar. Further, the Gokarnesvara Siva temple at Midnapur and Malikarjuna Siva temple contained the inscriptions of Kapilendradeva.

Kapilendradeva was a great devotee of God Jagannath. He always described himself as the *Sevaka* (servant) of the God. He provided the number of facilities for the worship of the God in Puri Jagannath temple. In achieving his political goal, he also used the name of the God as a magic wand.

Kapilendradeva wanted to maintain peace and tranquility throughout the empire. Though he was constantly busy with warfare, he desired that his people should live happily. It is needless to say that his reign period created several mile-stones in the annals of Orissan history.

Purusottamadeva (1467 - 1497 A.D.)

Purusottamadeva, portrayed as the hero of 'Kanchi Kaveri legend' was a unique figure among the Suryavamsi Gajapati kings of Orissa, His success, in its varied aspects, was multi-dimensional, original and effective. His assumption of power in 1467 A.D. by the 'Will of God Jagannath' as Kapilendradeva had pointed out, marked a toe fatricidal war with Hamvira, his older brother.

During the period of Kapilendradeva, his eldest son Hamvira had accompanied him in almost all his expeditions and brought laurel to the former. His claim to the throne was set aside by Kapilendra, perhaps, due to the persuation of the mother of Purusottama who was a *Phula-Vivahi* wife (a position between queens and concubines) of Kapilendradeva. Since the legitimate claim of Hamvira to the throne of Orissa was relegated to back-ground, he proceeded to settle his score with Purusottamadeva.

As per the accounts of Ferishta, Hamvira, in association with the Bahamani king Muhammad Shah III attacked the Gajapati kingdom in the south. Muhammad Shah had sent Malika Hussain Bheiry on his behalf to help Hamvira in the campaign. Hamvira occupied Kondapalli and then proceeded to Cuttack and defeated Purusottamadeva. Hamvira was placed as the Gajapati on the throne of Orissa. Taking Ferishta's accounts into consideration and also taking into consideration the version of the *Sarasvati Vilasam*. Subramanyam supports this fact because from 1472 to 1476 A.D. no inscription of Puruṣottamadeva is found in any part of Orissa. He further states that Hamvira drove away his brother Purusottama to forest and occupied the throne. When he failed to receive any assistance from the Bahamani Sultan for the outbreak of a great famine in the Bahamani kingdom, he had to compromise with his younger brother Purusottama. Prof. R. D. Banerjee and K.C. Panigrahi do not agree with Dr. Subramanyam's view and reject the Muslim accounts of Ferishta in toto. Prof. Panigrahi says that there is no source from 1472 A.D. to 1476 A.D. to show Hamvira's rule in Orissa. Further, as Hamvira enthroned himself as the Gajapati king of Orissa, what was his necessity to receive help from Bahamani Sultan for maintenance of his position when he had already driven away Purusottamadeva to the forest ?

However, the present author declines to accept the views of Prof. Banerjee and Prof. Panigrahi. First thing, why there is not evidence to support the rule of Hamvira ? It is, perhaps, due to the fact that after reassuming the throne Purusottamadeva, through his sincere efforts, might have obliterated all the evidences associated with the reign period of Hamvira. Secondly, as the people of Orissa had tremendous faith on God Jagannath, they ventured not to mention anything about Hamvira who had a legitimate claim over Orissa as Purusottama was declared Gajapati by the will of Lord Jagannath. Thirdly, when Hamvira felt that he would not receive the support of the people of Orissa due to their feat to God Jagannath, he thought it prudent to compromise with his brother. Of course, he did it when he was defeated at the hands of Purusottama and the latter also allowed Hamvira to rule over Khimindi as a vassel. Perhaps. Purusottama never wanted to reflect his discomfiture at the hands of Hamvira or the latter's defeat at his hand as both the facts were correlated. In the genealogical list of the Suryavamsis given by Raghudeva Narendra in the copper plate grant, the name of Hamvira does not figure. Perhaps, right from the days of Purusottamadeva, there was sincere and deliberate attempt to ignore the name of Hamvira from the pedigree of Kapilendradeva, the founder of the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule in Orissa.

Recovery of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry

Taking an opportunity of the civil war that took place between Purusottamadeva and Hamvira, Salua Narasimha had occupied a large slice of Orissan territory extending his sway as far as Masulipatam, in the north sometimes before 1476 A.D. Meanwhile, Sultan Muhammad Shah III of Bahamani had conquered Rajahmundry and Kondapalli. When Purusottamadeva marched towards Rajahmundry, the fort of Kondavidu was already in possession of the Sultan of Bahamani. As per the accounts of Ferishta, Purusottama had to sue for peace with the Sultan being unable to recover the fort and offered 25 elephants to the Sultan as a token of friendship.

After the expulsion of Orissan army from Rajahmundry and Kondavidu, the Sultan of Bahamani placed Muslim governors there and when wanted to take revenge upon Saluva Narasimha who was a silent spectator when Purusottama was marching to cross sword with him. After supressing a revolt at Kondavidu, when Muhammad Shah III was encamping at Malur, he got a forged letter of Nizam-Ul-Mulk Hassan Bahry showing that Mahmud Gawan, his trusted general and well-wisher of Bahamani Sultan had asked the help of Purusottamadeva against him. At this, he became furious and ordered to execute Mahmud Gawan which was immediately obeyed after his death, the plot was unearthed and out of grief, the Sultan died in 1482 A.D. leaving the empire with chaos and confusion. The accession of Mahmud Shah to the throne of Bahamani kingdom who was only twelve years old, provided an opportunity to Purusottama to recover the lost territories in the South. Taking advantage of the Mal-administration of Bahamani, Purusottama fished in that troubled water and easily conquered Rajahmundry and Kondavidu early in 1484 A.D.

Recovery of Udayagiri-*rajya*

After consolidating his power in the entire Krishna Godavari delta, Purusottama aimed at the occupation of Udayagiri-*rajya* which was under the possession of Orissa under Kapilendradeva and that had been occupied by Saluva Narasimha during the civil war between Hamvira and Purusottama with which, the latter was grossly entangled. Now, Purusottama, with his army, marched to Udayagiri, defeated and imprisoned Saluva Narasimha who purchased his freedom by surrendering Udayagiri and offering his daughter to Purusottama who is associated with 'Kanchi-Kaveri legend'. Though, no definite date or year is known about the occupation of Udayagiri, but with tolerable degree of certainty. It can be stated that the task was accomplished sometimes before 1489-90 A.D. The Sanskrit epic *Prabodhachandrodaya* refers to the fact that in the conquest of Udayagiri Purusottamadeva was helped by Vira Vasava or Basavabhupati. Further, the *Sarasvati Vilasam* narrates that Saluva Narasimha was captured alive in the battle and he purchased peace by surrendrening Udayagiri-*rajya* to Purusottamadeva. It relates :

Jivagrahamarim-pragrihya samare
Karnata-bhumidhavam
dinokti-pravanam Nrusimha manuja-
dhisam Punarmuktavan.

After the conquest of Udayagiri, Purusottamadeva is never seen in the war-field. He tried to bring peace inside his kingdom by performing religious and constructive works. He spent his time with the company of eminent scholars. Again the same *Sarasvati Vilasam* states :

Vira Sri Purusottama Gajapati Vidvatsabhabhyantare
Seso Vikraminam Kathasu nitaram sesahibhuso Vibhuh.

Purusottamadeva met his end in 1497 A.D.

The Romantic Kanchi-Kaveri Tradition

The Kanchi-Kaveri legend is a romantic episode very popular among the people of Orissa till to-day. According to this tradition, King Purusottama wanted to marry Padmavati, the daughter of Saluva Narasimha, the ruler of Kanchi. Although, Saluva Narasimha had given his consent for the marriage but his visit to Puri and observation of the work of Purusottama who performed *Chherapahanra* (sweeping away the dirts before the cars of Gods with golden broom during car-festival) led the former to deny the marriage proposal of his daughter with the latter. This infuriated Purusottamadeva who led an expendition to Kanchi but was defeated at the hands of Saluva Narasimha. This led the king to fall at the feet of God Jagannath who told the former in a dream to march towards the Kanchi for the second time and in that expedition success was bound to kiss the feet of Purusottama.

Surcharged with enthusiasm, Purusottamadeva marched towards the south. While proceeding with galloping march, he had to take a halt on the bank of Chilka lake at the prayer of Manika, a milk-maid. She narrated the fact that two young soldiers of the king, one dark and the other fair complexioned, riding black and white horses respectively ate all the curd from her pot. When she asked for payment, they presented her a ring saying that the Gajapati of Orissa who was about to come on that way, would make payment to the milk-maid on their behalf. King Purusottama looked at the ring and knew that it was of God Jagannath. His eyes were filled up with tears of joy who established a village near the lake named Manikapatana after the name of the milk-maid.

As is apparent, the king of Kanchi was defeated and Purusottama forcibly brought Padmavati to Orissa. He instructed his minister that the princess would be given in marriage to a *Chandala* (lower-born) so that his anger would be pacified. The clever minister of the king waited for an appropriate opportunity. At the time of the car festival, Padmavati garlanded Purusottamadeva by instruction of the minister, when the king was performing the work of a *Chandala* i.e.*Chherapahanra*. The king had no alternative but to accept Padmavati as his queen.

This legend has been accepted by many scholars as a historical truth. However, a few scholars also reject the legend. Almost all the scholars accept Saluva Narasimha as the ruler of Kanchi. Of course, Chandragiri was the base of Saluva's political power and it remained under the Vijayanagara empire. There was no place named Kanchi upon which Saluva Narasimha held his sway. Prof. K. C. Panigrahi states that Chandragiri was a sacred place. In cultural activities, it was so famous that it assumed the name Kanchi after the capital of the Pallavas. To justify his stand, Prof. Panigrahi says that as Kapilendradeva conquered Bidar, the capital of Bahamani and called himself as '*Kalavargesvara*', similarly, Chandragiri would have taken the place of Kanchi.

Prof. Panigrahi, while accepting the historicity of the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition, cites *Sarasvati Vilasam* where the name of Prataparaudra's mother appears as Rupamvika. He further says that perhaps, the name of Saluva Narasimha's daughter was Rupamvika which was changed into Padmini or Padmavati after her marriage following the tradition of the change of bride's name after marriage by the family members of the groom which is prevalent in Orissa and other parts of the country too.

Here, again, attention can be drawn towards the institution of *Chherapahanra*. Some scholars are of the opinion that it was introduced by Purusottamadeva in order to demonstrate his boundless devotion for the throne of Jagannath. He exploited the situation whose creater was his father Kapilendradeva. Since, the choice of Purusottama by Kapilendra to the throne of Orissa was illegal, Purusottama wanted to legalise it by showing his greater devotion to God Jagannath who had already occupied a unique position in the mind and heart of the people of Orissa. However, this enumeration is to be taken with a pinch of salt. It is a fact that Purusottama had framed this story through the priests of the temple. The scene of the encounter of God Jagannath and Balarama with Manika, the milk-maid with a pot has been depicted in the *Jagamohana* of the temple of God Jagannath. That scene might have been utilised by the Brahmins to mobilise the pilgrims in favour of Purusottama who held the Brahmins with high esteem.

On the other hand, it can alternatively be suggested that Purusottama might not be the creator of the institution of *Chherapahanra*. It might have been instituted by his father Kapilendradeva. As Kapilendra was an usurper to the throne of the Gangas, he might have started this tradtion of *Chherapahanra* in order to efface the bitter memory from the mind of the Orissan people in the light of the Ganga theory of kingship that made the king a subordinate to God Jagannath. This tradition which had, perhaps, not been highlighted during the reign of Kapilendradeva, was fully capitalised by Purusottamadeva. Later on, it was popularised by the Oriya poets and writers.

Prof. K. C. Panigrahi, in his much controversial book *Sarala Sahityara Aitihasika Chitra* written in Oriya correlates the Kanchi-Kaveri legend with *Surekha-harana* episode of the Oriya *Mahabharata* which is fantanstic and superfluous. Here, a simple question can be asked. When was the *Sarala Mahabharata* composed ? It is definitely during the reign period of Kapilendradeva. So how this Kanchi-Kaveri legend be related with the episode of *Surekha harana* by poet Saraladasa who composed the *Mahabharata* during the reign of Kapilendradeva ? Could the poet visualise the future activities of Purusottamadeva from a distant past ? Keeping all these facts in mind, as an impartial observer it can be stated that the romantic Kanchi-Kaveri tradition is not a historical fact. Purusottamadeva had framed it through the priests of the Puri temple (or through Brahmins) to legitimatise his position as his father Kapilendradeva had ignored the claims of his eldest son Hamvira. The episode, undoubtedly, gave a subordinate position to Purusottama in relation to the God and Brahmins but however, it was an impending necessity on the part of the king to stabilise his position on the throne of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa.

To estimate Purusottamadeva, as envisaged, he was a diplomat out and out. Immediately after his accession, he abolished *Chaukidari* tax which was imposed previously on the Brahmins. He also renewed old grants to them as is evidenced from his Jagannath temple inscription. He capitalised the favour of his father Kapilendradeva, the divine blessings of God Jagannath and the sympathy of the Brahmins to legitimatise his position on the Suryavamsi throne.

Like his father Kapilendradeva, Purusottama was an opportunist. Taking the weakness of the Bahamani Kingdom, he attacked it and recovered the lost Rajahmundry region and Kondavidu fort. He also recovered Udayagiri-*rajya* from Saluva Narasimha. During his reign, the boundary of Orissa did not expand. He was not a hero of the first rate calibre like his father Kapilendradeva.

As an administrator, Purusottama was a liberal man. His reign was peaceful which created circumstances for the growth of Oriya literature. There was no attack, either from the North or South on Orissan empire during his reign. This, undoubtedly, brought happiness to his subjects who breathed a fresh air of peace and tranquility. Though there was initially trouble at the time his accession owing to the revoit of Hamvira but very soon, Purusottama diplomatically solved the problem and brought normalcy inside his empire.

Purusottamadeva was a patron of literature. He was a great Sanskrit scholar. The two Sanskrit lexicons– *Haravali* and *Trikandasesam* are ascribed to him. Prof. P. Mukherjee informs that these lexicons were quoted by the lexicographer Vandaghatiya Sarvananda in his *Tika Sarvasva*. Purusottama is credited with the composition of abhinava *Gitagovinda* and *Namamalika*. Besides, *Chaininka Chakada Pustaka* by Fakir Chaini, Arjuna Dasa's *Kalpalata* and *Ramavibhaha*, Damodara's *Rasakoili Chautisa* were some notable works in Oriya that belonged to his reign period.

Like his father, Purusottamadeva was a builder too. According to tradition, Purusottamadeva built the temple of Sundara Madhava at Purusottamapur in the Ganjam district. During his reign period, Tamma Raya, one of his vassels installed an image of Gopala Krishna at Udayagiri which Krishnadevaraya had taken away to Vijayanagara after his conquest on Udayagiri-rajya.

Purusottamadeva was a pious man. Besides giving grant to the Brahmins, he also made arrangements for new provisions in the Jagannath temple. He made gifts for the personal enjoyment and stage entertainments of the Siva deity at Potavara. He gave away the revenue of a village to meet the expenses of offerings to the Simmachalam temple. On the whole, Purusottamadeva was a noble ruler. His reign period witnessed peace and stability in the Gajapati empire.

Prataparudradeva (1497 -1540 A.D.)

Gajapati Prataparudradeva succeeded his father Purusottamadeva. He was the last Gajapati ruler in the realm. Though, he was warrior of superb calibre but misfortune encompassed him time and again. Thus, he became a stupendous failure as a ruler paving way for the decline of the Gajapati rule in medieval Orissa.

Early South Indian Expeditions

The Anantavaram and Rajavolu plates together testify to the fact that by 1500-1501 A.D. Prataparudra had encamped on the banks of river Krishna. Perhaps, he was thinking to invade the Vijayanagara empire. His Anantavaram plate, dated 1500 A.D. states :

> *Yatram Dakshina-digvijayaya Vidadhat*
> *Samprapya Krishnatatim*

After the death of Saluva Narasimha in 1419 A.D., Narasa Nayaka had become the virtual ruler of that empire. When Prataparudra was measuring the strength of Narasa Nayaka, the covetous glance of Ala-ud-Din Abul Muzaffar Hussain Shah, the Sultan of Bengal over Orissa complied him to return to his capital.

With the death of Narasa Nayaka, his son Vira Narasimha succeeded his father as the regent, who expelled Immadi Narasimha, the son of Saluva Narasimha from the throne in 1505 A.D. and became the founder of Tuluva dynasty in Vijayanagara. He breathed his last in 1509 A.D. and was succeeded by Krishnadevaraya, the greatest among the rulers of the Vijayanagar empire. His accession lifted Prataparudra from lethargy who led his second expedition to the South. The work *Rayavachakamu*, an inscription at Tangeda (in the Guntur district) and the Gundapalam copper plates suggest that Prataparudra waited on the river bank of Krishna till 1510 A.D. and ventured not to attack the Vijayanagara empire. Again, he had to retreat to his capital to deal with Hussain Shah of Bengal.

War with Hussain Shah

When Prataparudra was encamping in the distant South, Hussain Shah was trying to cross the border. A clash between the Orissan army and that of Bengal took place. The Idupulupada grant and Velicherla plates of Prataparudradeva testify to the fact. Hussain Shah increased his army and around 1510 A.D. invaded Orissa. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* informs that Hussain Shah conquered the country upto Orissa and levied tribute upon the subjects.The *Madala Panji* states that *Amura* (Amir) *Surathana (Sultan)*, the *Patisa* (Badshah) of Gauda marched upto Puri and destroyed the images of God Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra. It further informs that on hearing the advance of the Sultan, Prataparudra marched back to Orissa in a haste and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the invader pushing him back upto Bengal. Out of fear, Hussain Shah entered into the fort of Mandaran and the fort was besieged by the Gajapati. The Velicherla plates of Prataparudra narrages the event as such :

Sa Gauda-rajasya balan-Vijitya
Pratyagrahid-rajyam adhijya dhanvi
Mattebha-Kumbhau samaresu yasya
Dristva Palayya sva-puram Pravisya
Bhayakula Gaudapatih Kadapi
Bibikuchau nekshitumihastisma

At this juncture, his able and trusted general Govinda Vidyadhara played treachery and joined the Muslim Camp. This led Prataparudradeva to retreat without subduing Hussain Shah.

Krishnadevaraya's Invasion of Orissa

Krishnadevaraya first attacked Udayagiri in 1512 A.D. He besieged the fort with his strong army. That fort was a great strong-hold of the Orissan army in the South. Being unable to make his entry into the fort, the emperor prepared new routes through stones and his army entered into the fort. The Udayagiri fort was captured atleast in 1513 A.D. and Tirumala Routaraya, the uncle of Prataparudradeva was made captive.

Krishnadevaraya, then focussed his attention on the Kondavidu fort which was another stronghold of Prataparudra in the South. Saluva Timma was appointed on behalf of Krishnadevaraya to carry on the operation. Saluva Timma besieged the fort of Kondavidu. The *Amuktamalyada* states that the Oriya soldiers who were inside the fort of Kondavidu "went to heaven without any wounds in their bodies." This fact has also been corroborated by the Mangalagiri pillar inscription. The narration of both the sources are indirect and an observation on it can be made in this way that being besieged by the soldiers of Krishnadevaraya, the Oriya soldiers inside the fort of Kondavidu met their end by starvation and lack of water. This led to the fall of Kondavidu in 1515 A.D.

The Amaravati, Tiruvannamalai and Kalahasti inscriptions of Krishnadevaraya with the accounts of Nuniz provide with a list of important persons captured during the siege of the Kondavidu fort. Among them were Balachandra Mohapatra, Narahari Patra, Mallu Khan, Udanda Khan and last but not least, Virabhadra, the valiant son of Prataparudradeva. In the meanwhile, the forces of Krishnadevaraya also occupied other minor fortresses of the region like Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamakonda, Nagarjuna Konda, Tangenda and Ketavaram.

The next target of Krishnadevaraya was Kondapalli. This was the last attempt of the Oriya soldiers to check the progress of Krishnadevaraya. Praharesvara Patra, the commandant of this fort, fought with the army of Vijayanagara empire but was defeated. From the Kalahasti inscription, it is known that from the side of the Oriyas Sirsachandra Mahapatra, Bijili Khan and Bodhan Mahapatra were taken as captives. Nuniz informs that during the capitulation of Kondapalli, a queen of Prataparudradeva was taken as a captive by krishnadevaraya which has been rejected by almost all the scholars in the absence of any other corroborative evidence. Of course, Prataparudra tried to check the progress of Krishnadevaraya but he was defeated repeatedly at the hands of the latter.

Prataparudradeva proceeded back towards his capital Cuttack to assemble fresh army to deal with Krishnadevaraya. Finding no opposition, Krishnadevaraya proceeded towards Orissa and reached Simhachalam. There he planted the pillar of victory. Though he sent news to prataparudra to meet him, the latter did not turn up. The *Amuktamalyada* and *Manucharita* inform that Krishnadevaraya proceeded to Puri, worshipped the Gods, marched towards Cuttack, burnt the capital and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Gajapati of Orissa.

Why Prataparudradeva did not turn up to fight against Krishnadevaraya. It was only because the death of his valiant son Virabhadra due to the disgrace (as Virabhadra was directed by Krishnadevaraya to display sword-fighting with a man who was not of noble birth) in the court of the Vijayanagara empire. This weakened the strength of his mind and conquering zeal and he had no alternative but to conclude peace with Krishnadevaraya by giving his own daughter Jagamohini (Tukka) to the latter.

As a result of this peace treaty, river Krishna was marked as the line of demarcation between Vijayanagara empire and that of Prataparudradeva. Being weak in mind due to the death of Virabhadra and the miserable fate of his daughter, he found panacea in Vaisnavism and became an ardent follower of Sri Chaitanya. He breathed his last in 1540 A.D. His death paved the way for the downfall of medieval Orissa. Of course, Prataparudradeva had marched with his army to the Vijayanagara empire after the death of Krishnadevaraya in 1529 but sustained defeat at the hands of Achyutadeva and never marched again to that land till his death.

Quli Qutb Shah's invasion of Orissa

When Prataparudradeva became weak after the reverses at the hands of Krishnadevaraya, Quli Qutb Shah, a general of Sultan Mahmud Shah of Bahamani kingdom who had carved out an independent kingdom at Golkunda, invaded the southern province of Orissa. Though Prataparudra was weak and feeble, still then he marched towards the South and by the help of his army, defeated Quli Qutb Shah and drove him back to Golkunda. On this occasion, he built the temple of Mangalagiri on the bank of river Krishna. Prataparudradeva led a painful life till his death in 1540 A.D.

To evaluate the achievements of Prataparudradeva, it can be stated that undoubtedly, he was a military genius. He had displayed it for many a times e.g. in dealing with Sultan Hussain Shah of Bengal and Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda. No doubt, he was a failure in waging wars with Krishnadevaraya who was an apt warrior of that time. As shown above, different circumstances weakened the strength of his mind and brought military debacles to his career.

Prataparudradeva was a great builder. The *Madala Panji* informs that he built the audience hall of the Jagannath temple at Puri. As per the popular tradition, he built the temple of Chandrasekhara on the Kapilasa hill in the Dhenkanal district. He was also instrumental of renovating the temple of Varaha at Viraja in the Jajpur district. He also constructed the temple of Dhavalesvara near village Mancheswar in Cuttack District.

Sanskrit language received the patronage of Prataparudradeva. In the Undavaill inscription, he is called the master of all arts and the repository of sixty-four kinds of learning. The Velicherla plate describes that Prataparudradeva assumed the title *Vidyanidhi.* His *Sarasvativilasam* is a famous law (*Vyavahara*) book of the Hindus. However, its authorship is doubtful and scholars give credit to Lolla Laxmidhar, one of the court poets of Prataparudra who wrote commentary on *Saundarya Lahari*. Sarvabhauma, who was originally hailed from Navadvipa, wrote a commentary on Laxmidhara's *Advaita-makaranda.* Jivadeva was a poet patronised by Prataparudradeva who composed the *Bhakti Bhagavata.* Ramananda Raya wrote the *Jagannatha Vallabha Natakam*. Paramananda Sena '*Kavikarnapura*' who wrote a Kavya entitled *Chaitanya Charitamrita* for the consolation of Prataparudradeva who was sticken with grief after the passing away of Sri Chaitanya. Besides, Sanskrit scholars like Markandeya, Ramakrishna Bhatta. Balabhadra Mishra and several others flourished in Orissa during his life time.

The Renaissance in Oriya literature reached its zenith during the reign of Prataparudradeva. That age in Oriya literature was famous as the 'Age of *Panchasakhas*'. The five celebrities were Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Ananta Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa and Yosobanta Dasa who flourished during the reign of Prataparudradeva. They were famous for their immortal creations in Oriya literature (discussed in the forthcoming pages). Chaitanya Dasa, Arjuna Dasa, Kanhai Khuntia and Madhaba Pattanayaka were other famous poets during this period.

Besides patronising the poets and men of letters, Prataparudra was famous for his liberalism. He generously offered gifts to different deities related with Vaisnava, Saiva and other cults. This shows his religious catholicity. He was a lover of peace and his administration was marked with tranquility prevalent throughout his empire. No doubt, Prataparudradeva paved the way for the decline of medieval Orissa, but his reign period was maked with a tremendous growth of both Sanskrit and Oriya literature and progress of Vaisnavism in Orissa.

Administration

The Vast empire of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis extended from the river bank of the Ganges to that of Godavari. The capital of this vast empire was Kataka-Pattana (Cuttack) which was known during the glorious days of the Gangas as Abhinava Varanasi Kataka. The second citadel of the Gajapati power was Kruttivasa Kataka (Bhubaneswar) where Kapilendradeva had been coronated. The theory of Kingship, what the Gajapati rulers followed, was marked with benevolence. However, the Gajapati kings were not benevolent despots rather they considered themselves as the representative of God Jagannath to serve the people of Orissa.

A good number of ministers and officers helped the king in discharging his duty. Some of them were the *amatyas* (ministers), *Mantri sreni siromani* (Head of the ministers), *Sandhivigrahi* (Minister of war and peace), *Sena-narendra* (Chief of the army), *Vahinipati* (Leader of the contingent), *Routaraya* (Captain of the army), *Kothaghara, Samantaraya*, *Pariksha* (Secretary for treasury), *Mudra Hasta* (Seal bearer), *Budha Lenka* (Chief priest of the temple of God Jagannath), *Srikarana* (writer of accounts) etc.

The land revenue system of the Gajapati period was well developed. The land was measured and accordingly tax assessment was made. The *Guntha* (20 Cubits square), *Mana* (25 *Gunthas*) and *Bati* (20 *Manas*) denoted different units of land. The crown lands were divided into *Khanda* or *Bisi* under two hereditary officers like *Khandadhipati* or *Bisoyee* respectively. To facilitate revenue collection from the village, the king appointed its headman like *pradhan* or *Bhoi*. The revenue officers in the south were called as the *Nayaka* and *Naidu*. At the time of natural calamities, the peasants were assisted by the state with seeds to carry on their cultivation.

The Gajapati kings like that of the Gangas were famous for their military organisation. The *Madala Panji* informs that infantry of the Gajapati consisted of *Padhikaras* (swordsmen), *Itikaras* (lancers) and *Dhanuki* (archers). However, the cavalry dominated the army as is gleaned from the Kanchi-Kaveri episode associated with Purusottamadeva. The *bheri* (war drum) was used for arousing enthusiasm among the soldiers. The forts played important role in the military organisation of the Gajapati Kings. Among the forts Barabati, Kondavidu, Kondapalli, Sarangagarh, Raibanian, Udayagiri, Vinukonda, Bellamakonda etc. were important. The oriya militia, popularly known as the Paiks were famous for their military spirit during the Gajapati period.

Coming to the judicial system of the time, it was quite efficient in discharging its function. The criminal justice was harsh. Gopinatha Badajena, a revenue officer was tried and put on the *Chang* (an instrument to give torturing death by putting a man under two swords). Similarly, Rama Patra was sentenced to death. Thus condime punishments were awarded to the criminals for committing crimes.

The provincial administration under the Gajapati kings was quite efficient. The empire was divided into several provinces known as *Dandapata* or *Rajya*. The governors of such provinces were designated *Parikhas* or *Rajas*. Provinces were divided into *simas* which were further sub-divided into *sthalas* or *muthas* that consisted of some villages and the lowest unit of the provincial administration was village (*grama*).

The Gajapati empire was also divided into fragments, each under a *Samanta* or feudal lord. It is clear that feudalism was at its blooming phase during the Gajapati rule. Among the feudal lords, mention may be made of the Matsyas of Oddadi, the Suryavamsis of Nandapur, the chiefs of Panchadharala, Palkonda, Narasapur etc. This feudalism, an ugly feature of medieval period, contributed a lot for the downfall of the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule in Orissa.

Art and architecture

The architectural splendour of Orissa which reached the zenith during the glorious days of the Gangas tended to decline during the Gajapati period. However temple building activities continued nuabated. The half-ruined temple, near the Papanasini tank in Bhubaneswar, contains an inscription of Kapilendradeva testifying to the fact that it was build during the reign of Kapilendradeva. The elegance, balance and beauty had departed from the Kalingan style of art as the half-ruined Porch of that temple containing docorative female figures represents a curde design in comparison to the finished figures earlier than this. The image of Nataraja carved on the northern wall of the temple present the finest specimen of the Gajapati rule.

Another great temple during that time was Kapilesvara temple at Bhubeneswar. The shrine contains an image of Kartikeya who holds a *dambaru* and a trident which is very peculiar during the rule of the Gajapati rulers. Another interesting figure of the temple is the image of Nataraja dancing on the back of the bull.

As per tradition, Purusottamadeva had built the temple of Sundara Madhava at Purusottampur in the Ganjam district. During his reign, it is presumed that one black horse and another white horse with their riders Jagannatha and Balarama respectively were placed near the southern gate of the Jagannath temple. Similarly, the figures of these two brothers with their horses with Manika, the milk-maid with her pot were carved in the *Jagamohana* of the Puri Jagannath temple. All these figures definitely have been incorporated in the temple after the expedition of Purusottamadeva to the Chandragiri-*rajya*. Nothing more distinct or notable aspect in the Orissan architecture took place during the reign of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis.

Literature

Shortness of time had never diminished the greatness of glory of the Gajapati period. The Gajapati kings were not only great patrons of the men of letters but they were also accomplished scholars. Their court basked in the sunshine of literary talents whose works were worthy of immortal fame. No such vast literature had been produced in any age preceeding or succeeding the Gajapati era till the British conquest of India as is evidenced from the vast treasure of literature of that period. The Oriya literature which virtually began with the *Sarala Mahabharata* during the reign of Kapilendradeva progressed tremendously during the time of subsequent rulers of that dynasty. From that stand point, the literature of the Gajapati period deserves special treatment.

Sanskrit Literature

The Sanskrit literature made its progress during the reign of Kapilendradeva. He was an accomplished scholar in Sanskrit. His play *Parasurama Vijaya* describes how Parasurama killed Kartaviryarjuna. During his reign, Nrushimha Vajapayee composed Kasimimamsa and wrote a commentary named *Samkshepa Saririka Vartika* on Sankaracharya's work *Samkshepa Saririka*. Narayana Mishra's commentaries on *Purvamimamsa* and *Uttaramimamsa* of Sankaracharya and his younger brother Jalesvara's notable work *Jalesvara Paddhati* belonged to this period, However, scholars are not unanimous on the fact that the works of these two celebrated writers belonged to the period of Kapilendradeva.

Purusottamadeva's monumental work *Abhyinava Gitagovinda* that contained 800 *slokas* was a *Kavya* of no mean order. However, some scholars give credit to poet Divakara for the composition of *Abhinava Gitagovinda*. Purusottama also composed *Namamalika Gopalarchanavidhi* and *Bhuvanesvari stotram*. He also composed dramas entitled *Abhinava Veni Samharam, Ananda Vilasa, Janaki Pramoda* and *Kuvalayasvacharitam*. He is also credited with the composition of other workers such as the *Mukti Chintamani, Dasagriva Vadha, Durgotsava, Dipika Chhanda* and *Vishnubhakti Kalpadruma*. He also wrote two Sanskrit lexicons the *Haravali* the *Trikandasesam*. During his reign period, Ananta Guru composed the *Sahitya Kalpavali*, a work on poetics.

Prataparudradeva, the last Gajapati king of Orissa was a great poet and writer. His *Sarasvativilasam, Kautuka Chintamani, Nirnya Samgraha and Praudha Pratapa Martanda* were flamboyant literary creations of that period. An important scholar Sarvabhauma wrote a commentary on Laxmidhara's *Advaita-makaranda*. Lolla Laxmidhar Pandit was another important luminary of the court of Prataparudra who composed saveral works such as *Vachaspativilasa, Yogadipika, Manva Dharmasastra Dipika, Karnavatamsa* and *Saundaryalahari Vyakhya*. Divakara, a grammarian and poet who wrote *Lakshnadarsa, Dhurtacarita, Parijataharana Nataka* and *Rasamanjari*. Jivadava's *Bhakti Bhagavata* was a milestone in Sanskrit literature during that period. Ramananda Raya wrote *Jagannatha Vallabha Natakam* Paramananda wrote a *Kavya* entitled *Chaitanya Charitamrita* and a play entitled *Chaitanya Chandrodaya*. Prataparudra's daughter Jagamohini wrote *Tukka*

Panchakam. Besides, Rai Champati, Markandeya, Ramakrishna Bhatta, Balabhadra Mishra etc. were other Sanskrit scholars during the glorious days of the Gajapatis. Further, the inscriptions of that period exhibit high literary expression in Sanskrit language.

Oriya Literature

The keen interest of the Gajapati kings, patronisation of poets and the influence of Vaisnavism prepared the ground for the progress of Vernacular language and literature. The contribution of Sarala Dasa was no illuminating that the literary works produced during that time were known as the literature of '*Sarala Yuga*'. Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* is the *magnum opus* of his creation. Though Sarala accepts the main theme of Vyasa's *Mahabharata* but at many places, he distorts the original description of the epic by his personal imagination. He excludes many episodes of the original *Mahabharata*. For example, the killing of two demons, Sova and Kirmira by the pandavas at the first part of their living in the forest, the sermons of Gita preached by Lord Krishna to Arjuna (which Sarala finishes in a few lines), Vyasadeva's solace to the Pandavas after the death of Abhimanyu, *Sarasotopakhyana* in the context of breaking of thigh of Duryodhana by Bhima etc. have been excluded by Sarala Dasa. Sarala not only excludes certain original facts of the *Mahabharata* but inserted new facts too. Among those, the departure of Ganga from Shantanu when the contract is broken and 'Ganga' is addressed as 'Gangi' by Shantanu, marriage of Gandhari to *Sahara* tree, touching of the feet of an ass by God Krishna for the killing of Jarasandha by Bhima, the curse of mountain Satasringa to Bhima for defeat in a war for the first time, the address of Bhima to Duryadhana as 'Golakaputra' and other facts like the meeting of Arjuna and Hanumana, the worship of Krishna's *pinda* at Nilagiri (blue hill), the episode of Belalasena, Belavali, Sobhavati, incarnation of Nrusimha, entrance of the Pandavas in Jajpur, Bali-Vamana, swimming of Duryodhana in the river of Blood, burning of Durdhaksha by opening the cloth from the eyes of Gandhari etc. are the creation of Sarala Dasa from his own mind that show his genius and creativity.

Sarala's *Mahabharata* is not only an epic but also a mirror of political, social, historical and cultural traditions of Orissa. Prof K. C. Panigrahi has given a vivid description about it in his monumental work *Sarala Sahityara Aitihasika Chiltra* written in Oriya. The war or Kapilendradeva with Bahamani kingdom has been reflected in it in a very indirect way. In the Digvijaya episode of the *Sabha Parva* of *Mahabharata*, Bhima is said to have defeated the king of Kundinagara which is no other name of Kondavidu. Similarly, the war of Kapilendra with Bahamani kingdom and Bengal have been narrated by him in a round about way. The Kurma *Parvata* and Krushnabhadra (river Krishna) are described in his *Mahabharata* as *Karana Parvata* and Gunabhadra respectively. Examples can be multiplied in this context. Many geographical places like Garjan (Ghazni), Bhutana (Tibet), Matshyadesa (Rajasthan), Malaya (Malua), (Malwa), Kamakshi (Assam), Belabalipura (Dacca and Maimansing region), Gunjara (Kalinjar), Saurastra (Kathiawar), Kasi (Varanasi), Kanyakubja (Kanauj) etc. have been described in his *Mahabharata*. These descriptions leave no room for doubt that Sarala Dasa definitely served as a military man in the army of Kapilendradeva.

Not only Sarala Dasa depicts contemporary geograpical scene and historical facts but he has also described the life, customs and traditions of the contemporary society in his *Mahabharata* like marriage, post-marriage rites, the position of women in family and society, monogamy, polygamy, tradition relating to widow, education etc. and several festivals like *Ganesh Puja, Kartika Vrata, Siva Ratri, Kumara Purnima, Akshaya Trutiya* etc. Besides, the epic also contains description of gods, goddesses and places of pilgrimage in Orissa. He describes about *Yamanika Tirtha* (Puri-Srikshetra), *Arka Kshetra* (Konarka), *Krutivasa Kshetra* (Bhubaneswar), Sabari-narayani and Gomukha Hari of Jajpur and even village goddesses of Orissa like Dakesvari, Hingula and many others.

Sarala Dasa also composed *Chandi Purana* and *Vilanka Ramayana*. *Chaininka Chakada Pustaka* was another Oriya work composed during Purusottamadeva's reign period by Fakira Chaini. Another famous poet of the Sarala age was Arjuna Dasa who was famous for his works *Kalpalata* and *Rama Vibaha*. Sisu Sankara Dasa's *Ushabhilasa*, Markanda Dasa's *Kesaba Koili*, Damodara's *Rasakoili Chautisa* etc, were other creations of that time.

The age that immediately followed Sarala Dasa, is famous as the *Panchasakha Yuga* (Age of the Panchasakhas). The age has been so called after the name of five celebrities like Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Ananta Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa and Yasobanta Dasa who flourished during the reign period of Prataparudradeva. Among the creations of Balarama Dasa, the *Dandi Ramayana* or *Jagamohana Ramayana, Bata Abakasa, Bhava Samudra, Laxmi Purana, Baula Adhyaya, Vedantasara Gupta Gita, Amarakosa Gita, Brahmanda Bhugola, Bedha Parikrama, Panasa Chori, Gupta Tika* etc. were very important. Jagannatha Dasa's immortal creations included Oriya *Bhagavata, Tulabhina, Brahma Gita, Gupta Bhagavata, Rasakrida, Mruguni Stuti, Gaja Stuti, Bhavisya Malika, Gundicha Vije, Dutibodha, Rukmini Malika, Pramoda Chintamani etc.* Achyutananda composed *Harivamsa, Sunya Samhita, Gopala Ugala, Anakara Samhita, Bipra Chalaka, Chaurasi Yantra, Bhavanabara, Tattvabodhini, Gurubhakti Gita, Amara-Jumara Samhita, Nitya Rahasa, Varuna Charita etc.* The writings of Yasobanta Dasa included *Siva Svarodaya, Premabhaktibrahma Gita. Tika Govindachandra, Chaurasi Ajna, Atma Parache Gita, Mantraboli, Yantraboli, Bagha Leela, Dhana Chori* etc. The last among the *Pancha Sakhas* was Ananta Dasa famous for his works like *Hetu Udaya Bhagavata, Garuda Kesaba Chautisa, Ude Bhaskara, Bhavisya Purana, Vaisnava Purana* etc. Among other poets of the *Pancha Sakha* age, Chaitanya Dasa's *Vishnugarbhe Purana* and *Nirguna Mahatmya*; Kanhai Khuntia's *Mahabhava Prakasa* and *Chaitanya Vilasa*; Partha Srichandana's Kalavati; Banamali Dasa's *Chata Icchavati*; Purusottama Dasa's *Ganga Mahatmya* and *Kanchi-Kaveri* etc. were some of the immortal creations of Oriya literature. The writings of the *Pancha Sakhas* were revolutionary in nature. Through their writings, the *Pancha Sakhas* wanted to abolish caste distinction from the society and bridge the gap between the higher class and lower class. The flow in Oriya literature that started from the age of Sarala Dasa was kept in tact with progressive trends during the Pancha Sakha age.

The rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis was a landmark in the history of medieval Orissa. No doubt, the rule of the Gajapati kings was marked for the creation of a vast empire but it also constituted a golden epoch in the field of Oriya literature. As already stated, feudalism which became an ugly feature of the Gajapati rule, reached its nadir point of degeneration. The discomfiture of Pratapaparudradeva in several wars due to the weakness of Orissan army and treachery prevailing inside it, broke his morale and paved the way for the downfall of medieval Orissa.

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Chapter – 13

THE BHOI DYNASTY OF KHURDA

With the death of Prataparudradeva, the political scenario of Orissa became turbulent. Treachery, confusion and bloodshed became the order of the day. Gajapati Prataparudradeva had left behind no strong successor to uphold the banner of Gajapati imperialism. Cowed down by selfish rivalry in politics among the feudatories, with impending threat of Muslim invasion and economic bankruptcy caused by ceaseless wars fought during Prataparudradeva, medieval Orissa was heading towards a great disaster. At this juncture, the accession of Kaluadeva, the eldest son of Prataparudradeva to the Gajapati throne in 1540 A.D., provided the people with no peaceful or tanquile administration. Just after seventeen months of inglorious rule, he was killed by Govinda Vidyadhara, the trecherous general of Prataparudradeva. His death made the confusion worst confounded. Kakharudeva, the younger brother of the deceased Gajapati, who succeeded the former to the throne of Orissa, met the same fate again at the hand of Govinda Vidyadhara who usurped the Gajapati throne in 1541-42 A.D. and became the founder of the Bhoi dynasty in Orissa.

Govinda Vidyadhara (C–1542-1549 A.D.)

Govinda Vidyadhara ascended the throne of Orissa when the land was passing through political upheavel. With his assumption of power, he wanted to exert his influence upon the people of Orissa by adopting the title 'Suvarna Kesari' as gleaned from the Narasimha temple inscriptions at Simhachalam. From the *Madala Panji*, it is known that he had led an expedition to Golkonda to recover the Krishna-Godavari-Doab from Sultan Quli Qutab Shah.

In the meanwhile, Raghubhanja Chhotaray, a scion of the Bhanja dynasty of Mayurbhanj and a nephew of Govinda Vidyadhara, rose in revolt. Assisted by Valmiki Srichandana, another nephew of Govinda Vidyadhara and Abdul Shah, he attacked Cuttack and besieged it. However, the fort was successfully defended by Mukunda Harichandana in the absence of Govinda Vidyadhara. Having heard this news, Govinda entrusted the task of operation against Bahamani kingdom to Danai Vidyadhara and hurried back towards his capital. At his approach, Raghubhanja left the capital. Govinda Vidyadhara defeated the combined army led by his nephew Raghubhanja Chhotaraya and pursued them to the boarder of Bengal. On his way back to Cuttack, he fell ill and breathed his last at Dasasvamedha *ghata* on the river bank of Vaitarani in 1549 A.D.

The credit goes to Govinda Vidyadhara for establishing the Bhoi dynasty in Orissa. If the social history of Orissa is analysed, one will find that there was no such caste as Bhoi. However, with the gradual march of time, the accountants and recordkeepers of the kings of Orissa termed themselves as Bhoi. In due course of time, they served as generals in the Orissan army. Govinda Vidyadhara and subsequently, Danai Vidyadhara were bright examples of it. Whatever the fact may be, the corner stone of the Bhoi dynasty was laid down by Govinda Vidyadhara and the dynasty is looked down upon as the dynasty of traitors. Some historians also treat the Bhois of belonging to inferior caste (Sudra).

Chakrapratapa (C 1549-1557 A.D.)

Chakrapratapa succeeded his father Govinda Vidyadhara in or about 1549 A.D. He called back the general Danai Vidyadhara from the South and made him his Prime Minister. Chakrapratapa was a tyrannical, cruel and oppressive ruler. Abul Fazl, in his *Akabarnama* narrates that he was killed by his son after the eventful reign of eight years.

Narasimha Jena (C 1557-1558 A.D.)

Narasimha Jena, the parricade, ascended the throne in 1557 A.D. He came under the tremendous influence of Mukunda Harichandana who persuaded the king to dismiss Danai Vidyadhara from power. However, Narasimha Jena paid a deaf ear to Mukunda Harichandana. When his persuation failed, reports *Madala Panji*, he murdered Narasimha Jena and placed Raghurama Chhotaraya, the younger brother of Narasimha Jena on the throne.

Raghurama Chhotaraya (C 1558-1560 A.D.)

Raghurama Chhotaraya succeeded his elder brother Narasimha Jena to the throne of Bhoi dynasty. He became a puppet ruler at the hands of Mukunda Harichandana, the general of the Orissan army. Receiving the news of Raghurama's accession, Danai Vidyadhara returned from the South. On his way to Cuttack, Mukunda Harichandana met him at Mangalajori in Puri and won his confidence. Danai Vidyadhara was entraped by Mukunda who placed the former inside the prison. After a short while, Danai Vidyadhara met his end.

In the mean while, Raghubhanja Chhotaraya, receiving the help from Bengal, marched upto Cuttack and challenged the authority of Mukundadeva. He was captured and killed by Mukundadeva. After that Mukunda Harichandana killed Raghurama Chhotaraya and proclaimed himself as the king of Orissa.

Ramachandradeva I (1568-1607 A.D.)

The accession of Ramachandradeva to the throne of Bhoi dynasty at Khurda marks a glorious epoch for that dynasty. Who is Ramachandradeva ? As stated earlier, Danai Vidyadhara was taken captive by Mukundadeva at Puri. Having heard this news, his son Ramai Routaray wanted to march towards Puri but was confined at the fort of Rajahmundry by the order of Mukunda Harichandana. With the passing away of Mukunda Harichandana in 1568 A.D., Ramai Routaraya was released from the fort and he returned Orissa. As Cuttack, by that time was under the clutches of the Afghans, Ramai selected Khurda as the centre of his political activity. This he got from Vala Vikrama Singh as a token of gift, informs the *Chaininka Chakada*. In that place, Ramai Routaraya proclaimed himself as king in 1568 A.D. This Ramai Routaraya is none but Ramachandradeva I, popularly known as Ramachandradeva, who assumed this name after coronation. Then, he proclaimed himself as the Gajapati of Orissa and introduced his own *Anka* (year) in 1568 A.D. The *Madala Panji* describes him belonging to the *Yadu Vamsa.*

After his accession, Ramachandradeva wanted to extend his boundary in every direction– north, south, east and west. That was the time of Mughal-Afghan conflict for the possession of Orissa. The coming of Mirja Raja Mansingh to Orissa led Ramachandradeva to think that his position might be jeopardized. It was only because Telenga Mukundadeva and Chhakadi Bhramarabara, the two sons of deceased Mukundadeva had appealed to Akbar, the Mughal emperor to recognise them as the legitimate rulers of Orissa. Initially, Ramachandradeva fortified the fort of Sarangagarh and gave shelter to the Afghans inside it. On his way to Puri, Mansingh waited at Sali and Raja Ramachandradeva wanted to negotiate with him by sending his son Birabara. However, Mansingh did not listen to Birabara and desired to see Ramachandradeva personally in his camp. Ramachandradeva did not turn up. At this, Mansingh proceeded towards Khurda accompanied by his son Jagat Singh, Abul Baqa, Shahabuddin Diwan and others and captured forts like Sahajpala, Kharagarh, Kalupada, Bhumal, Konon, Lonagarh and Bhumala. Ramachandradeva did not come out from the fort of Khurda.

Akbar now changed his mind. In order to crush Afghans in Orissa, he wanted to satisfy Ramachandradeva, on the one hand and the sons of Mukundadeva, on the other. Accordingly, Mansingh did the needful. The *Madala Panji* states that during *Chandana Yatra*, Mansingh proceeded towards Puri with the two rival claimants, Ramachandradeva and Telenga Mukundadeva. The priests of the Jagannath temple asked Mansingh to whom he would offer the power and authority as the king of Orissa. Mansingh took up *Khadi prasada* from the priests and offered to Ramachandradeva proclaiming him as the king of Orissa. However, he satisfied the two sons of Mukundadeva. The fort of Aul (Ali) and the Zamindari assigned to it were offered to Telenga Mukundadeva who became king over it. Chhakadi Bhramarabara, another son of Mukundadeva was made the chief of Patia. By doing this Mansingh gave the proof of his diplomacy.

One notable event during the reign period of Ramachandradeva was the invasion of Ibrahim Qutab Shah, the Sultan of Golkunda. He pursued his enemy Mukunda Raja of Kasimkota who sought the help of Ramachandradeva. Of course, it is not clear what happened to Ramachandradeva in that battle waged against Ibrahim. It is to be believed with a tolerable degree of certainty that Ramachandradeva was defeated. This assumption is to be made, because, by that time Kalinga and Rajahmundry were lost to the Orissan empire and included in the kingdom of Golkunda Sultan.

Though Ramachandradeva was hard pressed by the Afghans of Bengal in the north and Sultan of Golkunda in the south, he had as many as thirty-two zamindaries at his disposal. Among them, the Zamindari of Khurda was very important which contained 73 forts. Besides, there were Zamindaries of Banki, Domapara, Baramba, Tigiria, Narasinghpur, Angul, Talcher, Nayagarh, Dasapalla, Parikud, Ghumsar, Khallikote, Tekkali, Raghunathpur, Rathipur, Tapang, Rorung, Karki, Bolegarh etc. Roughly, the territory of

Ramachandradeva extended upto the river Mahanadi in the north to the borders of Khimindi in the south and from Chilika lake, in the east to Nayagarh and Dasapalla region in the west.

Ramachandradeva was a pious man. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he reinstalled the idols of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra in the Puri Jagannath temple which were burnt during Afghan invasion of Orissa under the redoubtable Kalapahada. The *Madala Panji* informs that he himself remained present near the *Jaya Vijaya dvara* and distributed *Mahaprasada* to different sections of the Hindu society. For this noble work, he was called *Dvitiya Indradyumna*. He was also instrumental in building the tempte at Sakshigopala. He also wanted to appease the Brahmins because he had ascended the throne by ignoring the claims of the sons of Mukundadeva. Though this was recognised by emperor Akbar, still, Ramachandradeva thought it prudent to get the blessings of the Brahmanas to legimatize his claim. So, he established several *Shasanas* (Brahmin villages) among which Vira Ramachandrapura exists today. The *Madala Panji* further informs that Gauri Rani (the queen of Raja Mansingh) built the present *Mukti Mandapa* inside the sacred complex of the Jagannath temple at Puri.

Raja Ramachandradeva I was a great patron of scholars. He himself was an accomplished poet who composed *Durgotsava Chandrika* and *Sri Krishna Bhakta Vatsalya Charitam*. However, the composition of *Durgotsava Chandrika* by Raja Ramachandradeva is controversial and its authorship is assigned to Vardhamana Mahapatra, the *Rajaguru* of the family. Ramachandradeva breathed his last in 1607 A.D.

Purusottamadeva (1607-1622 A.D.)

Purusottamadeva succeeded his father Ramachandradeva in 1607 A.D. His reign witnessed the vigorous Mughal atrocity over Orissa. During his reign, the Mughal emperor at Delhi was Jahangir who appointed Hasim Khan as the *Subahdar* of Orissa. He wanted to march towards Khurda and settle score with Purusottamadeva. One of his subordinates, named Raja Keso Das Maru went with his Rajput soldiers and entered into the temple of God Jagannath. Though, Purusottamadeva besieged the temple, the soldiers of Keso Das Maru threw rags socked with oil and ghee setting fire in them which burnt the Chariots of the Raja who ultimately surrendered and came in terms with Keso Das Maru (details in the chapter, "The Afghan and Mughal Rule in Orissa"). Raja Kalyana Mal, who succeeded Hasim Khan, was much more titanic than the former. He invited Vidyadhara, the Prime Minister of Purusottamadeva and made him captive at Ghantasila Tangi and attacked Khurda. Purusottama concluded peace with him.

After Kalyan Mal, Mukarram Khan was appointed as Governor of Orissa who brought injury to the image of Sakshigopal. Being infuriated, Ramachandra advanced to cross sword with this fanatical governor appointed by Jahangir but he was defeated. He immediately fled away from Khurda and sought asylum with the king of Rajahmundry. It appears that Khurda was temporarily annexed to the Mughal empire. He was removed in 1620 A.D. and Husain Ali Khan became the *Subahdar* of Orissa for a short time. After him, Ahmad Beg who succeeded Husain Ali Khan as the Governor of Orissa in 1621 enabled Purusottamadeva to deal with the Mughals. Gathering support from the local chiefs, Purusottamadeva marched against him. Ahmad Beg proceeded from Khurda to deal with him. While holding a camp near Banapur, Purusottamadeva passed away in 1622 A.D.

King Purusottamadeva was a great devotee of God Jagannath. He also patronised the Brahmins. He is credited with the establishment of three Brahmin *Shasanas* namely, *Purusottamapura Shasana, Sri Purusottamapura Shasana* and *Pratapa Purusottamapura Shasana.*

Narasimhadeva (1622-1647 A.D.)

After the death of Purusottamadeva, his son Narasimhadeva ascended the throne of Khurda in 1622 A.D. He could not escape the wrath of Ahmad Beg, the then *Subahdar* of Orissa. As his humiliating proposal that the royal family of Khurda should remain as security at the Mughal court in Cuttack was not accepted by Narasimhadeva, the former invaded Khurda. Narasimhadeva gave a toe fight to the Mughal Governor and defeated him.

This infuriated Ahmad Beg who wanted to lead a second expedition to Khurda. At this juncture, prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) revolted against his father Jahangir and proceeded towards Orissa from Golkunda. This foiled the plan of Ahmad Beg's attack on Khurda and he fled immediately with his family towards Burdwan and then to Akbar Nagar. The rebellious Mughal prince was treated with humility. Being fully satisfied with the behaviour of Narasimhadeva, Shah Jahan left for Bengal. However, the alertness of Mahabbat Khan prompted the prince to retreated towards Golkunda via Orissa. After the departure of Shah Jahan, Ahmed Beg again returned and remained as Governor of Orissa till 1628 A.D. and did not create any trouble for Narasimhadeva.

During the governorship of Baquar Khan Nazim Sani who was appointed after Ahmad Bag, Narasimhadeva faced fresh troubles. Nazim Sani led an expedition to the Sun temple at Konarka. Knowing well the attitude of that *Subahdar*, Narasimhadeva had already removed the image of Sun god from Konarka temple to that of God Jagannath.

Out and out, Raja Narasimhadeva showed regards to God Jagannath. During the governorship of Ahmad Beg, the idols of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra had been transferred to Garah Manitri from the Puri temple. Narasimhadeva brought back these images again to the temple and reinstalled them. The *Madala Panji* states that he had ordered to plaster the temple of God Jagannath at Puri. Further, after a long gap, he again arranged car festival during the Spring season which was not being celebrated due to the fear of Mughal governors. From the *Rasika Mangala*, it is known that Sri Rasikananda Deva Gosvami, the famous disciple of Syamananda, visited Puri and propagated his faith in the nook and corner of the kingdom of Narasimhadeva.

The removal of the image of sun god from the temple of Konarka prompted Mutquad Khan to attack Khurda. In that fierce battle, Narasimhadeva met his end at the hands of his enemy.

Balabhadradeva (1648-1659 A.D.)

The death of Narasimhadeva enabled Gangadharadeva, a nephew of the deceased king by the help of Mutquad Khan, the Governor of Orissa. This led to a great resentment among the subjects and some officials of the king. By taking their help, Balabhadradeva, the elder brother of Narasimhadeva, killed Gangadhara and ascended the throne in 1648 A.D. During his reign period, he had to fight with the Mughals. It was only because when Turbiyat Khan was the Deputy to rule Orissa on behalf of the Mughal. Mirza Balaki attacked the fort of Andhari. Raipitam, who was incharge of that fort appointed by Balabhadradeva, was defeated and fled away from the fort. His family members were captured. At this juncture, Balabhadradeva fought with the Muslims and freed the family of Raipitam from their clutches. However, the Mughals occupied Andhari fort. The reign period of Balabhadradeva was inglorious. He is known to have established the Vira Balabhadrapura *Shasana* near Puri.

Mukundadeva I (1659-1688 A.D.)

With the death of Balabhadradeva, his son Mukundadeva I succeeded him to the throne of Khurda in 1659 A.D. As he was a minor, Dharmadeva Rajaguru carried on the administration of the kingdom on behalf of Mukundadeva. Taking the fatricidal war among the sons of Shah Jahan. Dharmadeva Rajaguru organised the zamindars of the kingdom and did not pay any tribute to the Mughals. With the victory of Aurangzeb, Khan-i-Dauran was sent to deal with the Orissan zamindars and the king of Khurda. He killed many recalcitrant zamindars and proceeded towards Khurda. He defeated Mukundadeva in 1661 and offered the Kingdom of Khurda to Bhramarabara, the younger brother of Mukundadeva. However, Mukundadeva negotiated with Khan-i-Dauran to get back his kingdom and for materialising this, he sent Dharmadeva Rajaguru to deal with the matter. Khan-i-Dauran was convinced the Mukundadeva got back his throne. After his coronation was over, he imprisoned Bhramarabara Raya.

During the *Subahdarship* of Sayasta Khan, the maternal uncle of Aurangzeb, Mukundadeva faced problems from the side of the Mughals. Abu Nasir, one of the sons of Sayasta Khan marched to Jajpur and Jhankada and broke the temples, establishing mosques nearby. On his way to Puri, at Sakshigopal, he halted. His plan to attack the Jagannath temple at Puri was not materialised, because the *Madala Panji* informs that there was sudden thunderbolt during spring season at Sakshigopal and Abu Nasir returned to Cuttack out of fear after negotiating with Mukundadeva. The career of Mukundadeva came to an end in 1688 when he breathed his last affected by the small-pox.

Divyasinghadeva I (1688-1714 A.D.)

Divyasinghadeva I, who succeeded his father in 1688 A.D. was one of the ablest rulers of the Bhoi dynasty. During his reign period, Ekram Khan had attacked the Jagannath temple at Puri and captured fake images of the Lords. However, after his departure, Divyasinghadeva, reinstalled the original images in the temple, opened *Simhadvara* and allowed to continue all the rites of the temple including the car festival which brought joy and jubilation among the people of Orissa. When Murshid Quli Khan the Governor of

Bengal was also appointed as the governor of Orissa, he sent Shuja-ud-din, his son-in-law as the Deputy of Orissa, Shuja-ud-din, marched towards Khurda and was defeated by Divyasinghadeva who had gathered the local zamindars in his side.This added a new feather in his cap. However, he breathed his last in 1714 A.D.

Harekrishnadeva (1714-1719 A.D.)

With the death of Divyasinghadeva, his younger brother Harekrishnadeva succeeded him. His reign period was marked with peace and tranquility, because by that time, there was no Muslim attack either on Khurda or Puri Jagannath temple. The white-washing of the temple of Lord Jagannath was completed during his reign period. He also established a new *shasana* named *Vira Harekrushnapura shasana*. During his reign period, Gadadhara Rajaguru created many celebrated works like *Sudhi Sara, Kala Sara* and *Achara Sara*. He died in 1719 A.D.

Gopinathadeva (1719-1727 A.D.)

The accession of Gopinathadeva gave a halt to the conflict with the Mughals which was a regular feature of the Bhoi dynasty. His reign is marked with one romantic episode. He was attracted by the beauty of Suka Dei, the queen of Trailokya Harichandana of Banki. To materialise his dream, he attacked Banki and occupied some *paraganas*. Trailokya Harichandana, while fighting in the battle field, was killed by Gopinathadeva. At this, queen Suka Dei went to the battle field and gave a toe fight to Gopinathadeva who was defeated and taken as prisoner by the queen. However, he was released by the gracious queen and Gopinathadeva returned all the previously occupied territories to her.

Gopinathadeva was known for his charity. He established a village named Routarapura near Puri. He also granted a village to his physician Dhananjaya Nedhinatha Rao who cured the king from a fatal disease. During his reign period, a special ritual cleansing took place in the temple of God Jagannath that involved the bathing of the Gods for three times.

However, there were many black-spots in the character of Gopinathadeva. One glaring instance has already been narrated in connection with Suka Dei. Further, when the chief of Ranapur was on his way to Puri to visit God Jagannath, Gopinathadeva blocked his way and tried to take his daughter forcibly who was a paragon of beauty. The situation was saved with the steady flight of the chief with his daughter and followers to Rathipur. He was infuriated with his soldiers entered the palace of Gopinathadeva and killed him bringing an end to the uneventful reign of Gopinathadeva.

Ramachandradeva II (1727-1736 A. D.)

With Ramachandradeva II, another turbulent phase began in the history of Bhoi dynasty. Immediately after his accession, he had to bear the brunt Nizam's invasion from Hyderabad. Ramachandradeva's territory extending between Tekkali, Raghunathpur and the Chilka lake came under the sway of the Nizam. At that crucial phase of his career, Ramachandradeva II never lost his heart and assembled the native paiks and zamindars. He gave a toe fight to the army of Hyderabad but was easily routed by the army of the

Nizam. The above mentioned territory was lost to the Nizam. Taqui Khan, the Naib of Orissa, appointed by Murshid Quli Khan, did not come to the rescue of Raja Ramachandradeva II.

Muhammad Taqui Khan was a religious bigot. Destroying many Hindu shrines in Orissa, he proceeded towards Khurda. Though, Ramachandradeva II had gathered the Paiks around him but by the persuation of the Brahmins, they did not fight for the king and even Bakshi Benu Bhramaravara Rai and Diwan Nilambara Harichandana fled from the battle field. Now, Ramachandradeva appointed two Muslims, Lodhu Miana Diwan and Khalifa Gadadhara Mangaraja as Baksi but the result was negative. Taqui Khan demanded the surrender of Ramachandradeva II after killing the newly appointed Diwan and Bakshi. Though, his order was executed by the kings, Taqui Khan marched towards Khurda, captured Ramachandradeva and brought him to Cuttack.

In the meanwhile, Taqui Khan marched towards Khurda and the rebellious sons of Ramachandradeva fled away from the palace. Taqui Khan pursued them and occupied the territory lying between Khurda and Banapur. After leaving Khurda, Bhagirathi Kumar one of the sons of Ramachandradeva II sought the help of the king of Kodala. Athagarh and their combined army brought the disaster for the Mughals. However, Taqui Khan persued Ramachandradeva II to fight on his own behalf against Bhagirathi Kumar who was defeated and left the battle field marching towards Dasapalla. Still then, Taqui Khan never took Ramachandradeva into confidence and kept him in the palace of Khurda under house-arrest.

Ramachandradeva II was quite aware about the bigotry of Taqui Khan. So, he had taken steps to remove the images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra from the Puri Temple, to bring them to Banapur and subsequently to Takkali. The invasion of Taqui Khan to Puri and his entry to the Jagannath temple was proved futile because the idols were absent. So, he again attacked Khurda but Ramachandradeva fled away. The departure of Taqui Khan to Murshidabad, led Ramachandradeva to reinstall the images of the Lords in the temple. Taqui Khan hurried back from Murshidabad and made Ramachandradeva a prisoner in the fort of Barabati. Taqui Khan was murdered in that fort by two Khandayats employed by Rajaguru Paramalakshmi.

With the death of Taqui Khan, Murshid Quli Khan II was appointed as the Naib Nazim of Orissa and Ramachandradeva was released from the fort of Barabati. He was greeted by the feudatory chiefs. It is stated that he fell in love with Souria, the daughter of Murshid Quli Khan II and married her being converted to Islam. This fact is to be taken into account with a pinch of salt. It is to be believed that as he was a weak ruler, he was forced to be converted into Islam. His entry into the temple of God Jagannath was banned after he was converted to Islam. He wanted to enter into the temple by force but he Brahmins and the temple priests obstructed this way and an open rebellion was proclaimed against him. At this juncture, Mir Habib, the Deputy of Murshid Quli, look after administration of Orissa. Out of frustration, he took poison and breathed his last in 1736 A.D. Surendra Mohanty, a notable novelist of the Oriya literature, has glorified the career and achievements of Raja Ramachandradeva II for preserving the honour of the Gods of the temple at Puri in his two monumental historical novels, the *Neela Saila* and *Niladri Vijaya*. However, many facts of these two novels are based on imagination of the novelist and should not be taken as solid historical facts. If it is done, it will be a misnomer leaving the history of Orissa on the cross road of puzzles.

Padmanavadeva (1736-1739 A.D.)

The death of Ramachandredeva II created a vacuum in the political history of the Bhoi dynasty for some time. To put an end to this malady, Padmanavadeva, the king of Patia was appointed as king of Khurda by Mir Habib. He was not the choice of Ramachandradeva II. However, the rule of Padmanavadeva was opposed by the people of Khurda. It appears that he could not smoothly discharge his duties as a king and left the throne of Khurda in 1739 A.D.

Birakishoradeva (1739-1793 A.D.)

Birakishoradeva was the right choice of Raja Ramachandradeva II to the throne of Khurda. When popular discontentment arose against Padmanavadeva, the claim of Birakishoradeva was placed before Mir Habib who ordered to place Birakishoradeva on the throne of Orissa and that was materialised in 1739 A.D. He established cordial relation with Murshid Quli Khan II. Due to his help, the family of Murshid Quli was saved from the attack of Alivardi Khan. For that reason, perhaps, the relation between Birakishoradeva and Alivardi Khan, the Naib Nazim of Bengal, was strained in the initial phase. Later on, when Mirza Baquar, the son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan II, rose against Alivardi, the latter wanted to bring Birakishoradeva to his side by offering the former royal insignia near the *Paschimadvara* of the Jagannath temple at Puri, informs the *Madala Panji*.

Orissa became the chess board of political strife between the Mughals and the Marathas. Though, Birakishoradeva did not side with the Marathas, ultimately he had to succumb before them. Thus, the Marathas captured Puri and reduced considerably the empire of Birakishoradeva by snatching away from his territories of Banki, Dhenkanal, Narasinghpur, Tigiria, Talcher, Hindol, Angul, Kendrapara, Daspalla and Baud and made the zamindars of these area free from the rule of Khurda. Further, by bribing the priests of the Jagannath temple at Puri, the Marathas maintained the administration of the temple.

This gave a rude shock to Birakishoradeva who is said to have become mad towards the end of his career. Coming under the spell of the Pattnaik family of Bangoraba, he lebelled charge of dishonesty against Paramalakshmi Rajaguru who left the kingdom and went to Narasinghpur. The madness led him to kill his four sons. Bakshi Damodara Bhramaravara captured him and brought him to Cuttack where he was made prisoner by Rajaram Pandit, the Maratha Governor of Orissa. The Maratha Governor recognised his grandson Divyasimhadeva II as the successor of Birakishoradeva. Birakishoradeva breathed his last in 1793 A.D.

The reign of Birakishoradeva constitutes a glorious epoch in the cultural history of Orissa. The worship of Radha-Krishna started right from his period and it became very popular in his kingdom. His mother Lalita Devi was a pious lady who founded Lalitapura

Shasana. She also built several *mandapas* inside the Jagannath temple. Birakishoradeva also renovated the Markanda tank by removing mud from it. His long rule of fifty-two years, of course, brought peace and tranquility, though struggle between the Mughals and Marathas had brought temporary disturbance in the political scenario of the land.

Divyasimhadeva II (1793-1798)

The reign period of Divyasimhadeva II, though short, was marked with achievements. From the very beginning of his career, he maintained a strained relation with the Marathas. Inspite of the desire of the Marathas and the East India Company, he gave shelter to Balarama Maharatha, a refractory landholder of the British Company at Ganjam. Being captured, when Balarama Maharatha was taken by the sepoys of Snodgrass, the British officer in charge of Ganjam, the Paiks attacked them and set Balaram free. When Rajaram Pandit, the Maratha governor marched to settle score with Divyasimhadeva II, he was convinced that Balarama had breathed his last and thus, Divyasimhadeva escaped the *Maratha* wrath.

During his reign, a famine broke out which took a heavy toll of life. However, he whitewashed the temple of God Jagannath and performed the *Jhulana Yatra* of the Gods. The *Aruna* pillar, brought from the Sun temple at Konarka, was installed before the temple of God Jagannth. Divyasimhadeva died in 1798 A.D.

Mukundadeva II (1798-1817 A.D.)

The death of Divyasimhadeva II brought a conflict between Shyamsundaradeva, the second son of Birakishoradeva and Mukundadeva II, the son of Divyasimhadeva II. Sadashiv Rao, the Maratha Governor, supported the cause of Mukundadeva II and the British authority supported it. So, Divyasimhadeva II became the king of Khurda in 1798 A.D. In course of his administration, he did not maintain good relation with the East India Company. Inspite of the denial of Jayi Rajaguru, Mukundadeva started negotiation with the East India Company who planned to oust the Marathas from Orissa. Accordingly, they promised to handover the king Lembal, Rahang, Serai and Chabiskud which the Marathas had taken under their authority right from the days of Birakishoradeva who kept these Paraganas as mortgage near the Marathas. Further, the British authority also promised to pay rupees one lakh to Mukundadeva II for the safe Passage of the British army through the territory of the king.

As per the negotiation, the Britishers attacked Orissa in 1803 and after capturing Puri, they moved to Cuttack and occupied the Barabati fort. Mukundadeva remained a silent spectator to it for which he had to pay a price. When the British authority did not handover the four Paraganas, mentioned earlier, to Mukundadeva, the latter became rebellious. Jayi Rajaguru who was looking after the administration of Khurda on behalf of Mukundadeva II, advised the king not to send his Vakil to Cuttack to receive other fifty thousands of rupees. The forty thousands had already been paid to Jayi Rajaguru. The delay of the king to come to terms with the British authority, prompted the latter to deal with the former scorn and contempt. Mukundadeva II raised troops receiving help from the local chiefs. The British authority feared the design of the king. In a letter, Lt. Colonel Harcourt wrote to the king :

> "I do not think the Raja of Khurda must be exterminated, it is my intention to demand the immediate dismissal of his troops and destruction of his barriers, that he should give up correspondence with any person dissatisfied with the British government.

The British authority could know that Jayi Rajaguru was the brain behind it and demanded his surrender. Mukundadeva did not oblige it. Under Major Fletcher, an elaborate preparation was made to deal with the king who succeeded in capturing him and Mukundadeva became a prisoner at Cuttack. Jayi Rajaguru was captured and hanged. Mukundadeva II was sent to Midnapur and he sent a petition seeking pardon from the British government. The British Government, after careful consideration of the prayer of the Raja, released him from Midnapur. However, the kingdom of Khurda was not handed over to him again. He died in 1817. His successors were allowed to stay at Puri and hence, they were known as the kings of Puri.

Administration

The Bhois maintained an efficient administration. King was at the apex of the administrative set up. The succession to the throne was in conformity with law of primogeniture. However, there was exception to this principle also, if situation so demanded. As discussed earlier, in the case of Narasimhadeva, Divyasimhadeva and Ramachandradeva II, there was exception to the law of succession.

. The king assisted by a good number of officials among whom the position of 'Rajaguru' was highly esteemed. The Rajagurus were drawn from the influential Brahmin family belonging to *Batsasa gotra*. However, there was an exception to this principle also. Sometimes, the Brahmins belonging to *Kausika gotra* were also chosen as Rajaguru. They were very influential and virtually dictated the state administration. They developed deep into the *Sastras* and became constant advisor to the king, Besides *Rajaguru*, the *Dalabehera, Khandayat, Bisoi, Bebarta* (Vakil) *Dalai, Karanas, Naik* etc. helped the king in the smooth discharge of administration.

The army administration under the Bhois was quite efficient. *Baksi* was an officer, who managed the military affairs of the kingdom. He enjoyed rent-free *jagirs* and was loyal to the king out and out. The soldier of the army was known as *Paika* who belonged to the community of cultivators. The Khonds, Telegus and even Muslims, also formed the part of militia under the Bhois. Cavalry, elephants and chariots formed parts of the military organisation. The role of forts in the army administration, is quite known to all. Reward to victors and punishment to traitors formed part of the military administration of the Bhois.

The revenue administration under the Bhois was quite sound. Rent was fixed on land which was realised in kinds. Further, the king also obtained *Nazrana* (presentation) from his subordinate rulers and subjects at various ceremonies associated with the royal family. The duty on exported salt also formed a part of king's income. The income, thus realised, was spent for religious purposes like maintaining the Jagannath temple at Puri and its surroundings, as discussed earlier. No doubt, a large chunk of revenue must have been spent for the welfare of the state.

For administrative efficiency, the kingdom of the Bhois was divided into several *Jagirs*. This clearly indicates that feudalism was in vogue during that period. *Dalabehera* was in charge of the administration of a *Jagir*. *Jagir* denoted the modern district. Village was the lowest unit of the administrative set up under the Bhois. *Pradhan* was the head of the village who maintained the local administration.

Literature

Like the Gajapati age, the Bhoi period also witnessed tremendous progress in Oriya literature. Right from the days of the Gajapatis, the importance of Sanskrit literature had declined. So, in the Bhoi period, less works in Sanskrit were produced. Ramachandradeva is credited with the composition of two Sanskrit works like *Durgotsava Chandrika* and *Srikrishna Vakta Vatsalya Charitam*. Poet Chintamani Mishra composed many Sanskrit works like *Sambarari Charita, Vagmaya Viveka* and *Kadambarisara*. Biswanatha Samantaraya's *Ratnasara*, Haladhara Mishra's *Sangita Kalpalata* and *Basantotsava,* Raghunatha Ratha's *Natyamanorama,* Mukundadeva's *Narayana Satakam* and *Hridayalu Rasaba* etc. were notable Sanskrit works of the Bhoi period.

The Oriya literature went a long way in creating immortal works during that period. The Bhanja kings of Ghumsar enriched the Oriya literature of that time. Dhananjaya Bhanja was the author of *Raghunatha Vilas, Madana Manjari, Ichhabati*, and *Tripura Manjari*, Ghana Bhanja is credited with the composition of mythological *Kavyas* like *Trailokya Mohini, Rasanidhi*, and *Govinda Vilasa*, Upendra Bhanja, the poet laurate of the time, surpassed all by his immortal romantic creations. His *Vaidehisa Vilasa, Subhadra Parinaya, Lavanyavati, Koti Brahmanda Sundari, Prema Sudhanidhi* etc. were marked with literary style and jugglery of words. In, almost all his literary creations, the feudal thought has been expressed. Poet Dinakrushna Das was another notable figure in the domain of literature during that time. He composed *Rasakallola, Rasa Vinoda, Gundicha Vijaya* and *Namaratna Gita*. Another great name among the Oriya poets of that time was of Abhimanyu Samantasimhara who is credited with the composition of *Vidagdha Chintamani, Prema Chintamani, Rasabati* and *Premakanta*; Brajanatha Badajena's *Amvika Vilasa and Chatura Vinoda,* Bhakta Charana Das's *Mathura Mangala*; Biswanatha Khuntia's *Vichitra Ramayana*, Mahadeva Dasa's *Vishnu purana, Markanda purana, Padmapurana, Kartika Mahatmya, Magha Mahatmya* and *Baisakha Mahatmya* Narasimha Mishra's drama *Siva Narayana Bhanja Mahodaya Natika, Kavi Ratna;* Purusottama Mishra's *Sangita Narayana*; Raghunatha Ratha's *Natya Manorama;* Chandrasekhara Pattnaik's *Lilavati Vistara*; Jadumani Routraya's *Kavi Kalpadruma* etc. were the immortal creations of that time.

The Bhoi rule marked a new beginning in the political history of medieval Orissa. Though, this dynasty was established through treachery and bloodshed but it was instrumental in giving a continuity to the decadent Gajapati empire. With the coming of Afghans, Mughals, Marathas and Britishers, they manoeuvered the situation and tried to manage their state, craft until Khurda was annexed to the British authority in 1817. However, the vast literary treasure, which was created during the Bhoi period, created several milestones in the history of literature of this land.

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Chapter – 14

MUKUNDADEVA : THE LAST INDEPENDENT KING OF MEDIEVAL ORISSA

As stated earlier, treachery and bloodshed had become the order of the day with the passing away of Gajapati Prataparudradeva. At that juncture, Govinda Vidyadhara laid the foundation of the Bhoi dynasty in Orissa. After him, his weak successors were not able to extend the sway of the Orissan empire in different direction. They were not even able to keep the empire in tact. Law and order deteriorated to a greater extent inside the empire. Taking such circumstances into consideration, Mukunda Harichandana, the ablest general of Raghurama Chhotaraya, wanted to fish in that troubled water. He killed Raghurama Chhotaraya and through the strength of his sword, ascended the throne of Orissa in 1560 A.D. and ruled till 1568 A.D.

Genealogy

With the accession of Mukunda Harichandana, the medieval Orissa woke up from thraldom. Immediately he took up the title 'Mukundadeva', as his inscriptions reveal. The *Madala Panji* states that Mukundadeva belonged to the Chalukya family of the South and as such, he is termed as 'Telenga Mukundadeva'. The South Indian origin of Mukundadeva finds corroboration from the Srijang inscription of Achyuta Baliyarasing found from a village Srijang in the Balasore district. From the Bhimesvara temple inscription of Mukundadeva at Draksharam. In the East Godavari district, he has been described as the son of Sarvaraju and grandson of Singaraju. The name of his mother was Sarvadevi.

Favour of Govinda Vidyadhara

Form the accounts of Ferishta, it is known that the feudatory dynasties like Bahuvalendras and Harichandanas were ruling in the Sarvasidhi *taluk* of the Visakhapatanam district. With tolerable degree of certainty, it can be stated that Mukundadeva belonged to this ruling family, which was one of the feudatories of the Gajapati kings of Orissa. Mukunda Harichandana was a maker of his own destiny. He began his military career as a soldier in the army of Gajapati Prataparudradeva. With the gradual march of time, he rose to the rank of a general by sheer display of his courage and bravery. He was appointed by Govinda Vidyadhara as the Governor of Cuttack in due course of time.

Early design

After his accession, Mukundadeva wanted to retain the Gajapati empire in tact and even wanted to extend it more. That was the time of political instability inside Orissa. After reorganising the army, Mukundadeva wanted to settle his score with Bengal. The inscription of Mukundadeva at Draksharam gives an idea that the Gajapati empire extended in the South as far as Godavari.

Muslim attack in Jajpur

In 1560 A.D., immediately after the accession of Mukundadeva, Sultan Gyiasuddin Jalal Shah of the Sur dynasty of Bengal attacked Orissa and marched as far as Jajpur. In the light of the Bhimesvara temple inscription at Draksharam, it is stated that Mukundadeva drove the Sultan of Gauda away chasing him up to the river Ganges. Probably, to commemorate his victory over the Muslims, he constructed stone-steps on the river Ganges known as *Triveni ghata*. It is still now known as *Mukunda ghata*, a place of pilgrimage of the Oriyas. Further, he also performed *Tula Purusa* and other ceremonies for the same purpose. He also remitted taxes on marriages.

Participation in Mughal-Afghan conflict

In the meanwhile, Mukundadeva was grossly involved in the Mughal-Afghan conflict for supremacy in the Northern India. Ibrahim Khan Sur, an Afghan leader who tried to occupy the throne of Delhi after the death of Humayun, was defeated by Akbar and fled away to Bengal. When Sulaiman Karrani tried to imprison Ibrahim Khan Sur, instead of giving him asylum, the latter escaped from his clutch, reached Orissa and took shelter in the court of Mukundadeva. By this act, Mukundadeva incurred the displeasure of Karrani, who waited for an appropriate opportunity to invade Orissa.

Treachery

Akbar wanted to oust the Afghans from Bengal. To materialise his dream, he maintained friendly relation with Mukundadeva by sending envoys to the court of the Orissan king. Mukundadeva reciprocated it by sending Paramananda Raya, a Hindu ambassador to the court of Akbar. Of course Akbar never wanted to strengthen the position of Mukundadeva, as has been rightly pointed out by Prof. K. C. Panigrahi. It will be seen later, when Mukundadeva was desperately needing the help of Akbar against Sulaiman Karrani, the Mughal emperor did not send any help to Mukundadeva.

As stated earlier, Sulaiman Karrani waited for an opportunity to invade Orissa. In 1688 A. D. when Akbar was in the siege of Chittor, Karrani attacked Orissa. The Bengal army under the leadership of Bayazid, the son of Karrani, assisted by two other generals namely, Sikandar Uzbeg and Kalapahada, fell upon Orissa like meteors. Through Dalbhum and Mayurbhanj, the Bengal army took a galloping march and reached the coastal strip of Orissa. Quite unprepared for the invasion, Mukundadeva sent Raghubhanja to stem the tide. Raghubhanja proved to be a traitor at this stage. Mukundadeva had no alternative but to bow down before the invaders.

As per the version of the *Madala Panji*, Orissa was invaded by the two different wings of Bengal army. One wing of the army waged war with Mukundadeva who fought valiantly but was defeated. Mukundadeva was compelled to take refuge in the fort of Kotasima, identified with Kotasimul on the western bank of the river Damodar in the Hoogly district of Bengal.

Another wing of the Bengal army under Bayazid, assisted by Kalapahada and Sikandar Uzbeg, attacked Cuttack. In a fierce battle Koni Samanta Simhara, who was in charge of Cuttack, was defeated. At this critical juncture, Ramachandra Bhanja, the commandant of Sarangagarah, declared himself to be the king of Orissa. This news dragged Mukundadeva out of the Kotasima fort who returned back to Cuttack immediately and marched towards Sarangagarah (near Baranga, in the Cuttack district) to suppress Ramachandra Bhanja and was killed by the latter. On the same day, Ramachandra Bhanja was also killed by the Muslim army of Bengal. According to another tradition, Mukundadeva fought with the Muslim army of Bengal at Gohiratikar or Gohiratikiri, (near Jajpur) and was killed in the battle field. This seems more plausible. With him, was extinguished the last spark of Hindu heroism from this land giving way to Afghan rule in Orissa.

The much talked Kalapahada in tradition

A popular tradition of Orissa preserves the bitter memory of Kalapahada, a Hindu renegade and a general of Sulaiman Karrani who brought havoc and a large scale devastation by destroying a good number of temples including the Sun Temple at Konarka, temple of God Jagannath at Puri and several other temples. Who was Kalapahada ? Was he a Hindu or a Hindu-turned Muslim ? The prevailing facts runs thus :

From the beginning, the name of Kalapahada was Kalachand. He was born in a Hindu family at Bijgaon village in the Rajsahi district of West Bengal. He served under Sulaiman Karrani, the ruler of Bengal most probably in the military department as a soldier. With the gradual march of time, he fell in love with Dulari, the daughter of Karrani. Kalachand married her and was converted to the faith of Islam and changed his name from Kalachand to Kalapahada.

Kalachand was a married man. He had two wives. After his marriage had been accomplished with Dulari, he repented. The sweet memory of his previous who wives constantly haunted his mind. He thought, to return back to his own religion i.e., Hinduism what he had left when he married Dulari. He came to visit the temple of God Jagannath at Puri. He prayed to the *Pandits* of the *Muktimandapa* to purify him by reciting vedic hymns and allow him to be a Hindu again. However, the *pandits* laughed at him and ill-treated him. They drove him away from the temple treating him as an infidel.

Being infuriated at the merciless behaviour of the *pandits* of Puri, he returned to Bengal. Now he became a changed man. He was Kalapahada, a demon, waiting for the opportunity to fell upon Orissa as a meteor and to devastate the land by breaking the Hindu temples. His mind was surcharged with vengeance. He frantically waited for a chance to have his entry into Orissa.

The opportunity came in 1568 A.D. Sulaiman Karrani, the ruler of Bengal dispatched his army to capture Orissa under the leadership of his son Bayazid who was accompanied by Sikandar Uzbeg and Kalapahada. The desire of Kalapahada was going to be materialised. As stated earlier, Mukundadeva tried to retaliate this attack but however, he was skilled at Gohiratikari near Jajpur by the Muslim army. Orissa was occupied by the Afghans.

Then began the mischievous activities of Kalapahada. He ruined almost all the Hindu temples in the nook and corner of Orissa which came in his way. He ruined the Sun temple at Konarka. The *Madala Panji* informs that Kalapahada had entered into the temple of God Jagannath which was his main target as he had been humiliated by the *Pandits* of *Muktimandapa*. However, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in his *History of Bengal*, Vol. II mentions that the priests of the temple, being fully aware of the intention of Kalapahada, had carried away the idols of the Gods from the temple and kept secretly in the island of Chapali Hatipadar inside the Chilka lake. Kalapahada then destroyed the *Kothagharas* of the temple, set fire in *Kalpavata* and broke other deities into pieces. Being informed, he went to the Chilka lake and took away the idols of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra to the river bank of the Ganges and burnt them in toto. Immediately after this act, Kalapahada died. Visara Mohanty, a Vaisnavite by faith, followed Kalapahada and resued the *Brahmas* which were hidden inside the Gods, returned back to Puri and the idols were again installed in the temple. This is all about the tradition prevalent in connection with Kalapahada.

Now, this tradition of Kalapahada needs historiographical analysis. The *Madala Panji* states that Kalapahada destroyed the *Kothagharas*, set fire in the *Kalpavata* and broke the idols into pieces. Prof. K. C. Panigrahi, after careful archaeological survey of the Puri Jagannath temple, has opined that there was no destruction of the Puri Jagannath temple. The archaeological analysis clearly proves that the temple of God Jagannath did not bear the brunt of the attack of Kalapahada.

Another fact that Kalapahada destroyed all the Hindu temple in the nook and corner of Orissa is to be analysed. This is quite impossible. Kalapahada might have destroyed certain big and small temples but not all the temples. The presence of such Hindu temples, now at different parts of Orissa, is a solid proof of it.

It is strange to note that how such an important fact (if it is fact at all) did not find place in the contemporary Vaisnava and Oriya literature (except *Madala Panji*). Had it been so, its bitter memory would have definitely been reflected in the contemporary Vaisnavita Oriya literature.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar draws one instance from the contemporary Oriya tradition which points out Kalapahada as a Muslim. The fact related to it says that Kalapahada attacked Sambalpur and besieged the palace of king Madhukara Sahi. The king prayed to his family goddess to save him from such a peril. It is narrated that two milkmaids (family goddesses of the king) went to the camp of the Muslim general Kalapahada. The Muslim general and his soldiers drank curd from the milkmaids which was mingled with poison and breathed their last. Thus, the family deity saved the king from such a danger.

Of course, a historiographical survey corroborates this tradition. Though the mosque of Kalapahada in Orissa has not been located but mosques of his friends have been found out which are now sacred shrines of the Muslims of Orissa. Hitam Khan's mosque at Garahpara, Gulab Khan's mosque at Remuna, Husayani Khan's mosque at Basta, the mosque of Ali Bukhari in Jajpur with commemorative pillar and his mosque inside the Barabati fort bear ample proof of it. Thus, the tradition of Orissa has described Kalapahada a Muslim not as a Hindu who embraced Islam.

Kalapahada, like the Mahmuda of Ghazni, was very apt in breaking the Hindu temples. Not only he destroyed the temples in Orissa but he did it in Bihar and Assam too. There were many Kalapahadas among the Muslims. Bahalol Lodi's nephew Muhammad Khan Formuli assumed the title 'Kalapahada' and he was the *jagirdar* of Ayodhya. He is also described as Mian Muhammad Kalapahada. Ferishta narrates the achievements of Masum Khan Kalapahada who defeated the Afghans around 1567-1578 A.D. In the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, he has been described as a redoubtable Afghan. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* describes him as an Afghan *Amir*. The *Tarikh-i-Daudi* says that the real name of Kalapahada was Raju. Raju was a very popular name by that time borne by many Muslims. If by that time many, Muslims (particularly, generals) bore the name Kalapahada, it is not a wonder that one of the generals of Sulaiman Karrani was famous by that name Kalapahada.

Here attention can be drawn towards the view of Prof. P. Mukherjee. He says that the tradition of Kalapahada is based on a weak foundation. After marrying Dulari, it was not possible on the part of Kalapahada to remain as Hindu. Being of Hindu he was definitely aware of the rigid laws prevalent in the Hindu society that he could not return to it after becoming a Muslim. Fully knowing this thing well, why did he come to Puri ? If at all he came, how could he enter into the temple being a Muslim ? If he managed to enter into the temple, then how he was simply humiliated by the *pandits* without being taken into task ? If all these questions are analysed in a cool brain, it will definitely lead to a conclusion that Kalapahada was not a Muslim.

The most important aspect of the tradition is to be analysed now. By that time the marriage of a Hindu (soldier) with the princess of a Muslim ruler must have formed a romantic as well as sensational story. If this happened at all, then how did not the Muslim historians of the time mention it in their writings ? From the point of historiography, the tradition of Kalapahada seems unsound.

Another aspect of the tradition is to be taken into account. As per the description of *Ain-i-Akbari*, Kalapahada took the idols of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra up to the bank of river Ganges and burnt them. After analysing this fact in association with the description of the *Madala Panji*, Mukherjee concludes that Kalapahada had never taken the images of the Gods to Bengal, rather burnt them at Kujang and from Kujang, Besara Mohanty brought the *brahmas* hiding them inside the *Mridanga* and the images were again reinstalled in the temple. Be that as it may, Kalapahada died after this incident. This happened in 1568 A.D. The death of Kalapahada, immediately after the burning of the images of the Gods as described in the *Madala Panji* is erroneous. From historiographical analysis, it is known that he survived long after this incident. From the *Akbar Nama*, it is known that Kalapahad died in 1583 A.D. when a war was being fought between Khan-i-Ajam, the commander-in-chief of Akbar and Masum Khan Kabuli.

Thus, from the above discussion, it appears that Kalapahada was not a Hindu (Hindu turned Muslim) but he was a Muslim out and out. With the passage of time, reality was burried and Kalapahada was described as a Hindu from the beginning of his career who was converted to Muslim faith. The reason, why such tradition emerged in Orissa, is not known. Was it to make the Hindu society more rigid to save it from the Muslim onslought or was it an endeavour of a king in association with the writers of the *Madala Panji* for the realisation of certain obvious ends ? The future research will definitely throw some light on this aspect of the Orissan history.

Mukundadeva – An Estimate

Infact, Mukundadeva was a great ruler. He was the last independent king of medieval Orissa. Here is an estimate on Mukundadeva.

Last Independent King

Coming to form an estimate on Mukundadeva, it can be stated that he was the last independent Hindu king of medieval Orissa before the land fell a prey to the Afghan invaders of Bengal. Though he paved his way to the throne of Orissa through bloodshed, murder and treachery, he gave peace to the people of this land who were tired with continuous warfare as Prof. R. D. Banerjee rightly puts it.

Benevolent king

As a ruler, Mukundadeva thought always for the welfare of his subjects. He did not get more time to materialise his dreams. It is gleaned that his eight years of short rule gave peace and tranquility to the people of this land.

As a Builder

Mukundadeva was a builder too. He built the stonesteps of the *Trivenighata* on the river bank of the Ganges. His plan to dig a canal from *Triveni* to the river Mahanadi at Cuttack, at the instruction of his mother, however, remained unfulfilled due to the Muslim invasion. He also established Mukundapura *shasana* near Pipli for the Brahmins. He was also instrumental in the reconstruction of certain defensive walls of the Barabati fort.

Patron of Brahmanism

In patronising Brahmanism, Mukundadeva showed his interest. Not only he established Mukundapura *shasana* for the Brahmins but also performed *Sodasa Mahadana* (sixteen great gifts) including the gift of *Tula Purusa* as revealed from the Draksharam temple inscription. These activities of Mukundadeva show that he was an ardent champion of the Vedic religion and Hindu culture.

Patron of Literature

Mukundadeva was a patron of literature. His court basked with great scholars and men of letters. Narasimha Mishra Vajapeyi, a reputed *Smriti* writer flourished in his court. Time was very short for him. Otherwise, Oriya literature would have received his great patronage.

However, the short rule of Mukundadeva constituted a memorable epoch in the chequered annals of medieval Orissan history. The culture and civilisation of Orissa reached the highest water-mark during his reign. The crave for power among the local chiefs during the adverse hours of medieval Orissan history was really unfortunate that paved the way for his downfall. The death of Mukundadeva in 1568 A.D. was the culminating point of the disintegrating tendencies which had started earlier.

Chapter – 15

THE DECLINE OF MEDIEVAL ORISSA

The rise and fall of nations, like day and night, follows each other in succession. There was no exception to the Gajapati empire of medieval Orissa. This political decline was a sad story of sheer misfortunes. The cold arms of dicadence embraced the medievals Orissan empire that had reached the zenith of glory and splendour during a century rule under the great Gajapatis. No doubt, internal strifes had weakened the strong foundation of the Gajapati rule. However, factors like law of nature, conspiracy and treachery, Muslim invasions, aggressive march of Krishnadevaraya, misfortunes of Prataparudradeva, crave for power among the feudatories, coming of Sri Chaitanya, weak army etc. contributed a lot and medieval Orissan empire declined giving way to the Afghans and Mughals who established their sway on this land.

Law of nature

Arnold Joseph Toynbee's 'Cyclic View' on history or E. H. Carr's view that history is a 'straight-way progress' applies in case of every empire. This law of history was also applicable in case of the Gajapati empire of medieval Orissa. In the graphic language of Ibn Khaldun, "Empires are born, attain maturity and die at a definite point of time." This inexorable law of nature also operated in case of the great Gajapati empire. The corner-stone of the empire laid down by Kapilendradeva, was designed and decorated by his successors like Purusottamadeva and Prataparudradeva. However, misfortune cast its ugly shadow over the empire and it dismembered preparing the way for the downfall of medieval Orissa. Nobody could check this inevitable law of nature. The empire was created by treachery and force and it was destined to be destroyed by treachery and force.

Fatricidal War

The great fatricidal war between Hamvira and Purusottamadeva, the two sons of Kapilendradeva, sowed the seeds of dissension in the Gajapati empire. As discussed earlier, the claim of Hamvira as the legitimate heir for the Gajapati throne was set aside by his father Kapilendradeva. Kapilendradeva, in a diplomatic way, asserted the claim of Purusottamadeva injecting in the minds of the people of Orissa that it was the desire of Lord Jagannath. This led Hamvira to be revolutionary and prompted him to start a war of rebellion against Purusottamadeva. By this, he created a lot of problems for Purusottamadeva. Though people were silent spectators to this fatricidal war owing to their fear to Lord Jagannath, still an undercurrent of sympathy they cherished in their heart for Hamvira. This undoubtedly, undermined the prestige of the Gajapati king and gave scope to the feudatorries to fish in such type of troubled water in future.

Muslim invasion

The Muslim rulers posed great menace to the policy of territorial expansion of the Gajapati rulers. The Muslim invaders came during the reign of almost all the Gajapati kings, sometimes intervened in their home affairs and attacked their empire in some crucial moments, thereby crippling and reducing the power, prestige and honour of the Gajapatis. As stated earlier, the attack of Mahmud Shah, Mahmud Sharqui and Hussain Sharqui, the Sultans of Bengal had compelled Kapilendradeva to deal with them relegating his preoccupation to distant background from time to time. During the reign period of Purusottamadeva, Bahamani Sultan Muhammad Shah had sent Malik Hussain Bheiry to help Hamvira in capturing the Gajapati throne of Orissa. Prataparudradeva had to deal with Hussain Shah of Bengal and Quli Qutab Shah of Golkunda. All these Muslim invasions made huge loss of Manpower and resources of the Gajapatis, thereby weakening the internal structure of the Suryavamsi rule.

Aggressive march of Krishnadevaraya

Krishnadevaraya of the Vijayanagara empire became a potent threat to the very existence of the Gajapati kingdom. His repeated attack on Orissan empire from 1512 to 1519 A.D. shattered the prestige of the empire. He defeated the Oriya army in battle after battle. The fall of Kondavidu, Udayagiri, Kondapalli forts and minor fortresses like Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamakonda, Tangenda etc. took place in quick succession and Krishnadevaraya accomplished all these conquests and broke the morale of the Orissan army. Dark clouds loomed large in the horizon of Orissa, when Gajapati Prataparudradeva signed a humiliating treaty with Krishnadevaraya, as stated earlier. This subdued and shadowed the power and personality of Prataparudradeva. This also weakened the mental strength of the Orissan army. The result of the potracted struggle of Prataparudradeva with Krishnadevaraya was politically disastrous because the far-flung Gajapati empire was greatly curtailed in the South due to Krishnadevaraya, the mightiest emperor of the Vijayanagara empire.

Misfortunes of Prataparudradeva

Sorrow never comes alone. It comes with companions. Prataparudradeva was encompassed with insurmountable problems that broke his mental strength. The territorial loss broke the imperial zeal of Prataparudra. His valiant son Birabhadra was a prisoner at the hands of Krishnadevaraya. He was a notable sword-fighter by that time. To humiliate him, Krishnadevaraya told the former to cross sword with another man of the court who belonged to a lower family. This brought disgrace to Birabhadra who plunged his sword into his heart and breathed his last. This disaster led Prataparudra to submit before Krishnadevaraya and without waging war, he concluded the humiliating treaty with the latter. Besides the territorial loss, he had to offer his own daughter Jagamohini (later on known as Tukka) to his arch enemy, Krishnadevaraya. Further, capitulation of his great military officers like Narahari Patra, Balachandra Mahapatra, Sirsachandra Mohapatra, Bodhan Mohapatra, Mallu Khan, Udanda Khan and others by Krishnadevaraya's army broke the military zeal of Prataparudradeva. The treachery of Govinda Vidyadhara left Prataparudra at his wits end. All these circumstances weakened his mind and made his health fragile. He lost all interest in warfare and took refuge in the Vaisnava faith preached by Sri Chaitanya. This gave a strategic blow to the very existence of the Gajapati kingdom.

Treachery of Govinda Vidyadhara

The treachery of Govinda Vidyadhara was a potent factor for the decline of medieval Orissa. He was a minister of Prataparudradeva and had accompanied him as a general in his march towards Bengal for setling score with Hussain Shah. Hussain Shah took shelter in the fort of Mandaran. When Prataparudradeva besieged the fort of Mandaran, the fall of Hussain Shah seemed to be imminent. At this stage, Govinda Vidyadhara played the role of a traitor and Prataparudra was unable to assert his decisive victory over Hussain Shah. The Gajapati also pardoned Govinda Vidyadhara as there was no substitute to him in discharging the administration of the state. When Prataparudra left to deal with the affairs of the South, he entrusted the management of administration to Govinda Vidyadhara. This discouraged the Orissan army and adversely affected their morale making them weak and feeble. In later stage, this Govinda Vidyadhara became a traitor and became an usurper to the throne of Orissa by killing the sons of Prataparudradeva. He sounded the death-knell of the Suryavamsi Gajapati dynasty and brought into existence the inglorious Bhoi dynasty in the political arena of medieval Orissa.

Weak army

The medeval Orissan army which was instrumental in building the vast empire of the Gajapati's, became weak during the period of Prataparudradeva. One of its reason may be this that due to constant warfare during all the Gajapatis, they could not get ample time to be with their family. Their constant absence from Orissa and camping at distant South lost their martial spirit. The treachery of Govinda Vidyadhara during the Bengal campaign of Prataparudradeva, which turned the surest victory of the Orissan army into a failure, broke the morale of the soldiers. Further, the important military officers of the army were taken captives by Krishnadevaraya. After that no good commander was available to lead the Orissan army in proper direction. Thus, it is seen that during Mukundadeva, the Orissan army got easy defeat at the hands of the Muslim army of Bengal led by Bayazid and Kalapahada. Definitely, weak army brought the downfall of the medieval Orissa.

Sri Chaitanya and Vaishnavism

The coming of Sri Chaitanya and his preaching of Vaishnavism in Orissa was a great cause for the downfall of medieval Orissa. Born at Navadvipa (Nadia) in Bengal in 1486 A.D. Visvambhara was initiated to Vaishnavism at Gaya by Isvarapuri around 1506-1507 A.D. In 1510 A.D. he was initiated into *Sanyasa* and became famous as Sri Chaitanya or Chaitanyadeva and came to Puri. He went to South for two years after his short stay at Puri and then went to Vrindavana, stayed there for two years and returned Puri where he stayed till his death due to the insistence of his mother Sachidevi.

That was the period of growth of Vaishnavism which was gaining popularity due to the writings of *Pancha Sakhas*. Sri Chaitanya though this place congenial for the spread of Vaisnavism. Raya Ramananda, the author of *Jagannatha Vallabha Natakam* and a

Governor of Prataparudradeva was impressed by the teachings and personality of Sri Chaitanya. He left the job and accepted Vaishnavism. He made an arrangement by which Prataparudradeva met Sri Chaitanya and came under his spell sometimes after 1519 A.D. By that time, Prataparudra had suffered reverses at the hands of Krishnadevaraya and had been visited by heavy tolls of life. He found panacea in Vaishnavism and accepted it and lost his martial spirit.

It is natural that when a king accepts a particular religion, his subjects accept that faith. When Prataparudradeva accepted *Vaishnavism*, many followers of this *Gaudiya* Vaisnava faith emerged during that period. The text *Chaitanya Charitamrita* states that many influential persons of Orissa like Raya Ramananda, Kanhai Khuntia, Janardana Mahanty, Tulasi Parichha, Kasi Mishra, Pradyumna Mishra and many others accepted Vaishnavism. This definitely gave a set back to the efficient administrative set up of the Gajapati as most of the followers of this *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism neglected their duties. The soldiers of the Gajapatis, now tired with warfare, came under the influence of Vaishnavism. This led to the loss of their martial spirit. Thus, some historians opine that Sri Chaitanya and his Vaishnavism contributed a lot for the downfall of medieval Orissa.

Sri Chaitanya's responsibility for the downfall of medieval Orissa has allured the attention of historians. Prof. R.D. Banerjee makes Sri Chaitanya largely responsible for this. He states :

> "........... The religious equality and love preached by Sri Chaitanya brought in its train a false faith in men and thereby destroyed structure of society and government of Bengal and Orissa."

Prof. Banerjee draws the attention of scholars of Jayananda's *Jayamangala* where in it has been stated that Sri Chaitanya once advised Prataparudradeva not to conquer Bengal but to march towards the South. Prataparudra, thus, left his deal with Hussain Shah of Bengal and marched towards Chandragiri and the result was discomfiture on the part of Prataparudradeva. Similarly, the influence of Sri Chaitanya over Prataparudradeva paved the way for the downfall of medieval Orissa.

Prof. Banerjee's view has been taken with a pinch of sait by many scholars like Profs. N. K. Sahu, K. C. Panigrahi, P. Mukherjee and many others. From their discussion, it becomes apparent that although, Prataparudradeva was under the spell of Sri Chaitanya, he had marched to the South to wage war before his death (see Prataparudradeva). According to Jayananda's description, Sri Chaitanya advised Prataparudradeva not to march towards Bengal and Prataparudra obeyed it. If analysis of all the existing sources will be made, it will clearly indicate that before the deal of Prataparudra with Hussain Shah, he had not met Sri Chaitanya. Further, when Prataparudra marched towards the South, why Sri Chaitanya could not stop the movement of Prataparudradeva ? So, the question of Sri Chaitanya's influence over Prataparudradeva is relegated to the distant background.

The causes of the downfall, therefore, might be the weak army of Orissa and Prataparudra's inefficiency arousing out of misfortunes that befall on him. Further, Prataparudradeva had no match with Krishnadevaraya, a valiant warrior of the time that the

Vijayanagara empire had ever produced. The weak successors of Prataparudradeva, treachery and confusion, attack of Kalapahada etc. might be other reasons for the downfall of the medieval Orissan empire, as discussed below.

Weak successors

With the death of Prataparudradeva, the Gajapati empire did not get a good successor. His valiant son Virabhadra had committed suicide in the court of Krishnadevaraya. So, the other two sons of Prataparudradeva, Ramachandradeva and Purusottamadeva nicknamed as Kaludeva and Kakharudeva respectively, came to the throne in quick succession. These two brothers were killed by Govinda Vidyadhara who founded the Bhoi dynasty on the ruins of the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule. Thus, it is apparent that with the passage of time, the great Gajapati dynasty could not produce great warriors like Kapilendradeva, Hamvira and Birabhadra. So, the dynasty headed towards grave.

Treachery and Confusion

The period that followed the death of Prataparudradeva was one of the situations, full with unexampled anarchy and confusion. It was marked with bloodshed, murder and usurption. It is known, how Govinda Vidyadhara had killed the sons of Prataparudradeva. With the death of Govinda Vidyadhara, his son Chakra Pratapa came to the throne who was killed by his own son Narasimha Jena. Mukunda Harichandan killed Narasimha Jena and Raghunatha Jena Chhotaraya, another brother of Narasimha Jena. He also imprisoned Danai Vidyadhara and ascended the throne in 1560 A.D. These murders and bloodshed made the people of Orissa grossly unhappy who remained confused always. This created anarchy and gave scope to the Muslim invasion.

Financial bankruptcy

Undoubtedly, by conducting several wars and undertaking various military campaigns, the treasury of the Gajapati kings became empty. Further, the exploits derived from the military campaigns were spent by the Orissan soldiers in luxury. Several wars resulted in heavy expenditure on military front by the Gajapati kings. This gave a death blow to the treasury of the Gajapati kings and no welfare projects could be undertaken by the kings for his subjects. This led to the gross dissatisfaction of the subjects towards the Gajapati rule and made it unpopular in Orissa. That was, perhaps, a great reason for which a good number of people left the Orissan army and concentrated on cultivation as they did not get their salary from the state in time. Thus, the financial bankruptcy paved the way for the downfall of medieval Orissa.

Apathy of the Feudatory chiefs

With the accession of Mukundadeva, the chaos and confusion in the post-Gajapati era had come to a halt. When peace was to be restored, it was the apathy of the feudatory chiefs towards Mukundadeva that prepared the way for the downfall of medieval Orissa. Taking advantage of the end of Gajapati rule and beginning of the inauspicious rule of the Bhoi dynasty, the local chieftains asserted their independence. Visvanatha Deo of Nandapur, the Bahuvalendras of Krishnakota and even the Bhanjas declared their independence. The worst example of it can be cited when Ramachandra Bhanja of Sarangagarah declared independence when Mukundadeva was fighting against the Muslim invaders of Bengal. This undoubtedly paved the way for the downfall of medieval Orissa.

Lack of unity and solidarity

Lack of unity and solidarity among the chieftains after the fall of the Gajapati empire created circumstances for the Muslim invasion. When Bayazid and Kalapahada attacked Orissa, it was the duty of all the feudatory chiefs to ignore the differences among them and to offer unconditional help to Mukundadeva for averting the Muslim menace. Petty interests kept them disunited and weakened the strength of the Oriya giving chance to the Muslim army of Bengal to be victorious on this soil. Had it not been so, then the Muslim army would have definitely been defeated by the combined army of Orissa under the redoubtable leadership of Mukundadeva.

Invasion of Kalapahada

Taking the anarchy and confusion of Orissa into consideration, Sulaiman Karrani, the Afghan ruler of Bengal, dispatched an army under the leadership of his son, Bayazid and General, Kalaphahad. Kalapahada brought a great damage to the temple of Orissa after Mukundadeva was defeated and met his end as discussed earlier. The death of Mukundadeva and subsequently of Ramachandra Bhanja led Kalapahada to show his barbarism on this soil and to smash the pride of this land. The people of Orissa were frightened so much by the acts of Kalapahada that nobody ventured to go against him. Thus, the invasion of Kalapahada gave a final touch to the downfall of Medieval Orissa. (Kalapahada episode has been discussed in Previous Chapter.)

The medieval Orissan empire had reached the historical climax with the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis. The above mentioned factors were, no doubt, responsible for the decline of medieval Orissa. Besides, the degeneration of the moral conduct of the people of Orissa was no less than other causes which contributed a lot to the fall of medieval Orissa. Then, Orissa came under the sway of the Afghans, Mughals, Marathas and of the British with gradual succession. The fall was so fatal that it brought cultural stagnation and economic decadence, the shivering shocks which the people of Orissa could hardly forget.

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Chapter – 16

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF ORISSA DURING ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Amidst the rise and fall of empire one after another, change and continuity became the way of social life in ancient and medieval Orissa. The glorious rule of the Bhauma-Karas, Somavamsis, greater Gangas and Gajapatis, contributed a lot to preserve the social structure of this land. With the gradual march of time, besides the four traditional castes, many sub-castes emerged in the Orissan society. The *agrahara* villages granted to Brahmins by different kings of various dynasties, gave vent to the progress of education. The villages of Orissa became the centres around which evolved the social life of its people. Their dress, profession, hobby, learning etc. form the main theme of the social life in Orissa on the eve of Muslim conquest.

Social Condition

Society under went many changes during maient and medieval Orissa. The basic structure of the society has been discussed below.

The Social Structure : Caste system

The most notable feature of ancient Indian society was the caste system. The Orissan society was not an exception to it. It consisted of numerous castes and sub-castes and the interaction among them brought social harmony bringing peace and tranquility in the Orissan society. The caste structure of the society was as follows :

The Brahmins

The Brahmins enjoyed the highest position in the society of belonging to the first order in the *Varna* system. By their learning, prudence, pious character and other virtuous qualities, they commanded respect from the people in the society. From many inscriptions, particularly of the Bhauma-Karas, Brahmins belonging to several *gotras* like Bharadwaja, Kausika, Visvamitra, Sandilya, Vatsa etc. settled in Orissa. They settled in the *Shasanas* (*agrahara* villages) as is known from numerous inscriptions belonging to the Ganga and Suryavamsi Gajapati period. They received land-grants from the kings and other landed aristocrats to worship gods and goddesses in different temples. Those lands were tax free lands. Further, they were also indispensable for many important ceremonies like the *Abhiseka* (coronation ceremony) of the king, marriage, *upanayana* (sacred thread ceremony) etc. By their noble works as priests, they commanded respect of the society and were placed in the highest position in the caste structure.

Besides discharging their duties as priests, the Brahmins also got lucrative posts in the court of the king. The Ganga inscriptions show that the Brahmins like Vanapati, Govinda and Vishnu worked under the Ganga kings Raja Rajadeva I, Anangabhimadeva II and Anangabhimadeva III respectively as ministers having high reputation. The inscriptions at Srikurmam and Simhachalam refer to Narahari Tirtha who acted as a regent when Bhanudeva I, was a minor. The Gopinathpur inscription refers to a Brahmin named Gopinath Mohapatra who was a constant adviser to Kapilendradeva in matters of war and religion. The Ganga inscriptions states that some Brahmins served as military officers using titles like Vahinipati, Chamupati and Senapati. Further, the Brahmins were also appointed in the posts of *Sandhivigrahi (Ka), Sasanadhikarin*, record-keeper etc.

The Brahmins during that period were also engaged in several other professions besides the above mentioned works. The inscriptional and literary sources of the period reveal that they resorted the agriculture, trade, temple building activity and so on. The Brahmins performing higher works like the priests, *guru, Mahasandhivigrahika* etc. were known as the *Shasani* Brahmins. The Brahmins who resorted to lower professions like agriculture, trade etc. were known as *Halua* or *Jharua* Brahmins.

Whatever the fact might be, learning and imparting education were the main functions of the Brahmins in the society. They were well-versed in the *Vedas* and other *Sastras*. They grew under the patronage of kings and maintained their educational institutions. The court of the Ganga monarchs and Suryavamsi kings basked with the learned Brahmins. They contributed a lot of *Smriti, Vyakarana*, poetry, drama and other branches of knowledge. Due to their high education, they were revered by the people in the Orissan society.

The Kshatriyas

The Kshatriyas occupied their position in the society next to the Brahmins. They were warrior class and shouldered the responsibility to protect the country from internal rebellion and external aggression. Besides fighting they administered the country. As the inscriptions and literary sources of this land refer, they were benevolent rulers not despots or autocrats.They had great veneration towards the Brahmins from whom they sought advice to carry on administration.They were great builders. By receiving their patronage, a good number of temples were built up in the nook and cornor of Orissa. They were famous for their charity. The digging of tanks, establishment of *Shasanas*, educational institutions etc. were also their look out. They also took interest in the promotion of learning inside the society.

Besides the kings and members of the royal family, the army chiefs, soldiers and other officials belonged to the Kshatriya *caste*. The *Khandayats* or Paiks were Kshatriyas who resorted to cultivation at the time of peace and jumped into the frey when the war drums were heard. The ruling families cemented matrimonial alliances with other kings and feudatory chiefs to secure their position. Whenever there was any external aggression they joined hands to oust the army. The help of Paramadrideva, during the reign period of Narasimhdeva I against the Muslim rulers of Bengal, is well known. The Kshatriyas were thus, instrumental in maintaining place and stability of the land looking after the welfare of their subjects.

Tha Vaisyas

The Vaisyas belonged to trading class who resorted to cultivation, cowherdship, trade and commerce. Generally, prosperity of the land depended largely upon the people of this community. They organised *hatas* (local markets) and controlled both inland and maritime trade. From the time of Asoka, it is evident that trade routes on land passed to distant South via Kalinga and it monopolised the trade and commerce and her economic prosperity had become an eyeshore to Kalinga. This was possible due to the trading class (Vaisyas) in the ancient and medieval Orissa (see trade and commerce for the two merchant brothers– Tapassu and Bhallika). Further, the Vaisyas of Orissa carried on oversea trade with the countries like Ceylon, Siam, Burma, Suvarnadvipa etc. and brought wealth to this land. They also helped in spreading the Orissan culture in South-East Asia.

The Kshatriyas also paid attention for the growth of the Vaisyas. The kings granted special villages for them known as the '*Vaisya agrahara*'. The Chicacole plates of the Ganga king Madhukamarnava refers to the grant of land to a Vaisya named Erapa Nayaka. This clearly indicates that the Vaisyas went hand in hand with the Kshatriyas for maintaining stability in the society. The term 'Nayaka' is an indicator to the fact that the Vaisyas also entered into the military service of the king and thus, had a close collaboration with the Kshatriyas to maintain political stability of the land. Their sound economic condition led them to donate villages to the Brahmins and the temples. Among them were the *Gopalas* (milkmen) who looked after cattle-rearing and they traded in milk, butter, ghee etc. Of course, their position was very low even matching with that of the Sudras.

The Sudras

In the traditional class structure, the Sudras occupy the lowest position. Of course, the condition of Sudras in Orissa was not so. The Sudras were drawn from the community that consisted of artisans, craftsmen, petty agriculturists, servants etc. They also changed their professions and absorbed within the fold of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Even, they were attached to the temples to serve the gods and goddesses. They were also not detached from the sphere of education and learning. *Sudra Muni* Sarala Dasa composed the Oriya *Mahabharata*, Balarama Dasa, another great poet of *Panchasakha* period composed *Dandi Ramayana*.

Besides the above mentioned professions, some Sudras were untouchables. They were untouchables and remained outside the society. However, they served the society in various capacities. Among them were the washerman (*rajaka*), fisherman (*kaivartta*), shoe-maker (*charmakara*), basket-maker (*doma*) etc. There were efforts by the *Panchasakhas* through their writings to absorb these untouchables within the traditioal structure of the caste system. Through their literature, these poets brought a protest against caste system, superstition, corrupt practices and so on and tried to free society from the clutch of rigidity. In due course of time, the Sudras gave up their duties and from among them emerged many *Siddhacharyas* and tantric *gurus* who belonged to basket maker, fisherman and leather worker communities. Besides Sudras, other sub-castes in the society were *saundikas* (brewers), *tantuvayas* (weavers), *kumbhakaras* (potters), *malakaras* (gardeners), *napita* (barber), *tambarakara* (coppersmith), *tathakara* (metal worker), *kamara* (blacksmith) etc. who rendered their habitual service to the society.

The Aboriginals

Among the aboriginals of the time, references very often occur in the literary and inscriptional sources. From the inscriptions of the Ganga period, reference is made to Savara *Mahamatra* who was probably the head man of a Savara village. Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* refers to the meeting of God Krishna with a Kandha (Khond) king Bhaskara, who promised to supply the meat of deer, wild-pig etc. for the *Rajasuya yajna* organised by Yudhisthira. With the gradual march of time, efforts were made to bring these aboriginals to the fold of Hindu society. The *Daita Patis*, a group of *Sevakas* of God Jagannath in the majestic temple at Puri can be cited as an example which was the result of such effort.

The Kayasthas or Karanas

The Kayasthas or the Karanas occupied a dominant position in the medieval Orissa. Though, the formation of this sub-caste cannot be traced back to an exact year, still in the 10th-11th century A.D. references to them were made in the inscriptions. The Kshatriya and Vaisya descent of the Kayastha or Karana is known from inscription. They became hereditary class of writers and became indispensable for maintaining royal records owing to their superior knowledge in accountancy and day to day administration. Not only they were the keeper of the records, but they also occupied high position in revenue department, army and other departments. From the Ganga period onwards, their high position never dwindied away. The present day titles like Pattnayak, Dandapata, Mohanty, Kanungo etc. are remembrances of the past where the Karanas, like today, were regarded as an important class inside the society.

Plorification of castes

Numerous castes and sub-castes emerged inside the society which created chaos and confusion. It was indispensable on the part of king to preserve *Varnashrama Dharma* or to uphold the interest of all castes in order to put a check to *Varnasankara* or intermingling of social order. During the Bhauma period, Subhakaradeva II had established *Varnasrama* with all its rigidity as is revealed from his Terundia charter. (*Niratisaya-sastra-anusara-pravarttika-Kritayuga-ochit-asamkirnna-varnasrama-vyavastha*). With the passage of time, intermingling took place among various castes and sub-castes which led to class-conflict. During Kapilendradeva, as is revealed from Sarala *Mahabharata*, class-conflict had taken place as the epic describes the conflict between the Brahmins and the *Chandalas* (lower caste). Further, *Panchasakha* literature gave a blow to the predominance of the Brahmins in the society and preached about a harmonious society where difference among all the castes would vanish. During the period of Prataparudradeva, Sri Chaitanya and his neo-vaisnava movement also brought set back to Brahmanism to a greater extent and it was not possible to preserve the *Varnasrama Dharma* by the king. Thus, the stabólised social structure in ancient and early medieval Orissa dwindled away giving way to a more flexible society towards the later part of the medieval India.

Position of women

Women enjoyed high position in the society. Although, they were dependant on their parents and husbands, still they commanded respect in the society. Some Bhauma queens took the reign of administration in their own hand (see Chapter 9). Women of high birth and noble families received education. They also received educations in music and dance. Chandrikadevi, a daughter of Anangabhimadeva III, excelled in the field of song, music and dance. Jagamohini, the daughter of Prataparudradeva and the wife of Krishnadevaraya was a brilliant lady of the time who was famous for her *Tukka Panchakam*. The pious character of the women of that period is well-known. The Bhauma queens, the Somavamsi, Ganga and Gajapati queens were great devotee, to various religious faiths and were instrumental for building of many temples and creating provisions for the worship of the God or Goddess. The literature of the time reflects that monogamy was the prevailing norm of the society. However, polygamy was not unknown in royal and higher families. The systems of *Sati* and *Pardah* were not prevalent. The concubinage system was practised in the society. A reference can be made in this matter to Gajapati Purusottamadeva who was the son of a concubine of Gajapati Kapilendradeva. Inspite of the high position enjoyed by the women in the society, the practice of *Devadaśi* was a veritable stain in this regard. In different Buddhist Viharas and in the Jagannath temple at Puri, this ugly practice was prevalent which undermined the position of women in society. In general, women enjoyed high position in the society.

Dress and ornament

The sculptures and literature of the period give clues to form an idea about the dress and ornaments of the people. The male persons used *dhoti* as lower garment and *Chaddar* as upper garment. Female dress consisted of two garments, upper and lower. They seemed to have wore sarees. The folds of sarees, sometimes, were gathered, carried on to back between the legs and tucked. The garments of the higher class people were ornamented with embroidery showing their status. The *Devadasis* (dancing girls) also used ornamented dress and richly decorated caps. The females took particular care in dressing their hairs. The sculptures of Konarka temple indicate that comb and mirror were used for that purpose. Perfumes were also used by ladies as inscriptions of the time refer to perfumers. The sculptures of the period show that both male and female used ornaments like *Kundala* (ear-ring), *Keyura* (armlet) and *hara* (neck-lace). Besides, the women used ornaments like *mekhala* (girdle), *Karnafula* (ear-flower), *Kankana* (bracelet), *manjira* (foot ornament), *nupura* (anklet), *Katisutra* or *Katibandha* (waistlet) etc. The female prepared beautiful hair locks and decorated them with flowers.

Food and drink

The inscriptions and literature of the period throw welcome light on the food and drink of the society. The Ganga inscriptions narrate how rice, ghee, curd, milk, pulse, curries and *payasa* (rice cooked with milk) etc. were offered as bhoga (offerings) to the deities in the temples. These descriptions give an idea regarding the vegetarian food pattern in the society. Non-vegetarian meals were also prevalent inside the society. Drinking of wins was not unknown to the people.

Hobby

Nothing definite is known about the hobbies of the people by that time. Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* projects certain hobbies of the time. Among them, hunting and *pasa* (chess) formed the pass time resorts of the royal families. The common people might have resorted to certain games, learning, archery and fighting, music, writing etc. as gleaned from the description of literature.

Thus conceived, the social structure did not remain the same throughout the period. The changing politicoreligious scenario brought change in the social structure. The emergence of numerous castes and sub-castes broke the social fabric into pieces. Inspite of that, the Orissan society in ancient and medieval period, remain stable, peaceful and coherent.

Economic Condition

The paucity of source material prevents scholars to project a vivid picture of the economic condition of Orissa in ancient and medieval period. Basing upon the literary, inscriptional and archaeological sources, a reconstruction of the economic condition of the period under review, has been made. It includes within its fold the various types of revenue, agriculture, industry, products, trade and commerce and so on and so forth.

Agriculture

Agriculture formed the main source of revenue of the kingdom. The king was deriving a large chunk or revenue from the land. He also imposed professional taxes on *tantuvayas* (weavers), *gokutas* (cowherds), *Saundikas* (brewers), *Kumbhakaras* (potters), *Suvarnakaras* (goldsmiths) etc. The king also derived his income by imposing taxes on *ghatta* (landing places for boatmen), *nadittarasthana* (ferry places), *sakheta* (hamlets), *gulmaka* (forests) etc. The income, thus derived, was spent in the royal expenditure, salary to officers, worship of deities, reward to scholars, welfare activities for the subjects etc.

Villages were the centres of agrarian structure in ancient and medieval Orissa. Land was divided into various categories. Among those were *krishta* (cultivable), *vastu* (land for residential house), *arama* (land for groves), *udyana* (land for garden), *gochara* (pasture land) etc. There was clearcut dimarcation of cultivable lands through boundaries. The inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas, Bhanjas and early Eastern Gangas refer to Khanda-kshetra denoting to revenue-paying village, though previously it was a rent free land donated to Brahmins or deities. Sometimes, *hasta* (cubit) formed a unit of land measurement and the hand of a particular man (mainly royal officer) was used for that purpose. The inscriptions of the Gangas of Svetaka refer to a unit called *nala* which was made of a piece of bamboo or wood. The inscriptions of the early Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara refer to a unit called *hala* (plough). The inscriptions of the period refer to rice, mango, banana, jack-fruit, melon, black-berry, tamarind, betel etc. Besides, other agricultural products might have included wheat, oil-seeds, sugarcane, pulses and vegetables.

Indudstry

Several industries grew in the ancient and medieval Orissa with rural base. Besides agricultures, industries also helped a lot for the sustenance of economy.

Weaving industry

Cloth manufacturing was carried on the great success in the nook and corner of Orissa. Kautilya, in his *Arthasastra*, refers to Kalinga for manufacturing the finest variety of cotton cloth. The *Manasollasa* describes about different varieties of clothes for the royal use and mentions the name of Kalinga as one of the the producers of such fine clothes. The sculptures of the time, depict the high designs of clothes and without any doubt, it can be stated that textile industry reached its perfection in ancient and medieval Orissa.

Making of ornaments

The sculptures and literature of the period furnish an idea regarding the use of several ornaments. From the depiction and description, an idea is formed about the advancement of jewellery of the time. The art of jewellery, particularly during the period of the Bhauma-Karas, Gangas and Suryavamsi Gajapatis, was a notable craft. The jewellers made ornaments befitting to the taste of the time. Both rich and poor used ornaments.

Iron industry

Iron industry was a very well known industry of the period under review. The sculptural representation in different temple walls of various weapons like sword, dagger, battle-axe, shield etc. testify to the fact that iron industry was very much popular in Orissa. The iron beams used in the Jagannath temple at Puri and Sun temple at Konarka project the advanced skill of the Orissan people in the field of iron technology. Besides, house-equipments and tools of agriculture were undoubtedly manufactured by the iron smiths of the time.

Stone work

Numerous temple building of that time clearly exhibit that stone work had advanced sufficiently to give the proof of its excellence. All these temples prove the artistic skill of the Oriya masons who carried on gigantic block of stones up, for the construction of the temples. The decorative motif of the temples clearly prove that a large number of sculptors were employed for the work. Thus, it is conceived that stone works gave sustenance to thousands of stone cuttors, masons and sculptors.

Potters

Pottery was a developed industry in this period. Several inscriptions show the grant of land to potters to supply earthen pots for cooking *bhoga* and lightening lamps for the deities in several temples. Undoubtedly, they must have manufactured earthen pots for the families of a large number of villages which were the chief units of the administrative set up in Orissa.

Oil industry

Oil is an essential item in the day-to-day life. Frequent reference to this industry is made in several inscriptions. The need for lightening lamps before the deities prompted people to resort to the profession of oil-manufacturing. Castor oil was generally used for the prepetual burning of lamps before the deities, mainly in Ganga period. The class of people who manufactured oil, were known as *Tailapas*.

Manufacture of Salt

Salt is another essential commodity in the daily life. Salt industry existed in Orissa during ancient and medieval time. In Ganga inscription, the term '*Lavanakaradhikari*' occurs. It suggests that salt industry was well established during that time. This was in a quite flourishing state even up to the time when the British occupied Orissa and till today it also continues as one of the oldest industries in Orissa.

Manufacture of liquor

The reference to a term '*Saundika*' in several inscriptions, given an idea that liquor was being produced in Orissa. The tradition mentions that after the ten horse sacrifice made by Yayati Kesari, the river Vaitarani turned into a river of liquor (*Sura*). Further, the drinking vessels in the sculptures of Vaitala temple of testifies to this fact.

Other industries

Besides the above mentioned industries, sugar industry, boat-making industry, ivory works etc. were other crafts of the period under review. These industries made a selfsufficient economy which largely cattered the needs of the people of Orissa. The surplus products were exported to the outside contries which brought economic prosperity to this land.

The Guild system

The growth of trade and urbanisation brought guilds into existence. The guilds were organisation of merchant communities following the same profession. The *srenis* or guild described in Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, were formed having certain rules and regulations and enjoyed executive and judicial powers. The head of guilds or *Sresthins* held lucrative posts under the kings of Orissa as gleaned from the medieval inscriptions of this land. The state and the guilds went hand in hand. The latter exerted great influence over the former by giving certain valuable suggestion to the king. The king was also deriving a greater income for the state by extracting taxes from the guilds. Incase of any dispute among the members of the guilds, the king acted as an arbitrator. Further, the king also put a check to the guilds when they tried to exploit the common people. The guilds were definitely instrumental for the economic prosperity of this land.

Trade and Commerce

Trade and commerce reflect the economic condition of a society, its production pattern, surplus, specialisation of arts and crafts, growth of urban centres, trade-routes, articles of export and import, medium of exchange, ports and port-towns etc. From ancient times, Orissa carried on her trade and commerce, both inland and maritime, keeping her touch with the outside world. Her control over land-routes and sea-routes gave her ample chance to carry on her trade and commerce smoothly. The inland and maritime trade of Orissa in ancient and medieval period have been discussed here.

Inland Trade

With the advent of neolithic age, an abrupt change came in economy of the primitive man transforming him from a food-gatherer to a food producer. When iron was introduced, an advanced food-producing economy gradually replaced the primitive agrarian structure. Using new agricultural tools and implements, the peasants produced more than their need. This surplus production needed appropriation. Now splitting of production into agriculture and manufacture of consumer and capital goods gave rise to production directly for exchange leading to commerce based on barter system. The neolithic period might have brought settled village life in Orissa.

Role of Middleman

With the production of surplus in agriculture, the same would be available for a middleman, the trader. Thus writes A. L. Basham, "........... the craftman frequently sold his wares directly to his consumer, the peasant's surplus products were largely in the hands of middleman". These middlemen tried to meet the demands of the local people largely through a common market, meant for some villages, popularly known as *hata* in an inscription from Jajpur in Orissa. In later times also, this *hata* finds mention in Ganga epigraphs.

The Market or *Hata*

Obviously, the trading activity of *hata* pulled its sources from rural self-sufficient economy. The transaction of local products took place there. The villagers sold a portion of their produce and purchased necessary articles to meet their needs. The *hata*, sometimes, was organised in the vicinity of a local temple. This brings to mind the fact that such *hatas* might have been organised near the temple to meet the needs of the pilgrims who came to visit the deity from distant places. On the other hand, this helped the proper appropriation of local surplus giving way to the local people to gain more by selling the products in a bit higher rate to pilgrims than the traditional normal rate of the locality.

Besides the local markets, towns also emerged to gratify the need of the merchants and traders. Right from the days of God Buddha, second urbanisation had started. Ancient and early medieval Orissa was properly urbanised.

Cities

The archaeological excavation at Sisupalagarh, on the vicinity of Bhubaneswar, brings to light the existence of a well-developed urban centre that flourished in or about third century B. C. and continued upto the middle of the fourth century A.D. This Sisupalagarh has been identified by many scholars with the ancient city of Tosali on the bank of river Daya, six miles to the south of Bhubaneswar, which remained the provincial headquarters of the Mauryas in this region after Asoka's Kalinga war. The special Kalinga edicts of

Asoka refer to this city. The city had its existence before Asoka's invasion of Kalinga as is corroborated by the discovery of a hoard of punch-marked coins of the pre-Mauryan period from the summit of the main ridge of Dhauli hill. Ptolemy also refers to this city. Discovery of large hoards of coins of various types at the site of Sisupalagarh and its nearby area suggests that it was a great urban centre that facilitated trade and commerce.

Samapa

Samapa finds mention in the special Kalinga edicts of Asoka. Scholars tend to locate this city close to modern Jaugada in the Ganjam district. The excavations conducted at the site of Jaugada revealed the existence of a fortified town. Its proximity to sea would have given her an advantage of trade and maritime activities. As Palur (a port city, discussed later) was in the mouth of river Rishikulya, the claim of Samapa to be an urban centre can never be ignored.

Kalinganagari

Kalinganagari finds mention in the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela as the capital city of Kalinga. Lines 3-4 of the Hatigumpha inscription mentions that gates, ramparts and structures of Kalinganagari were repaired by Kharavela in the very first year of his coronation. This fact has been corroborated by the archaeological remains of the excavations at the site of Sisupalagarh.This has been identified with Sisupalagarh. It was situated on the highway that ran from North to South along the coast line. It was a great centre of trade and commerce. The discovery of Puri-Kusana coins, gold coins, presence of various industries, rouletted ware etc. clearly indicate that the city was a great centre of trade and commerce during the ancient days.

Other places

From the days of Mathara (C-350 A.D.) onwards various place-names are depicted in epigrapical records which formed capital towns or seats of administration for various dynasties. The Mathara epigraphs mention towns like Simhapura, Sripura, Pistapura etc. The Sailodbhavas (sixth to eighth century A.D.) who ruled over *Kongodamandala* had their capital at *Vijaya Kongodavasaka* which has been identified with modern Bankada on the basis of the artefacts found there on the river bank of Salia. Hiuen Tsang who visited Orissa during seventh century A.D. mentions.......... "some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea." Though the pilgrim is silent about the capital of Kongoda, Alexander Cunningham infers from the description of Hiuen Tsang that the capital was located at Ganjam.

Guhadevapataka and other cities

During the Bhauma-Karas (eighth-ninth century A.D.), their capital city Guhadevapataka or Guhesvarapatak was a famous city. It was located on the bank of river Vaitarani near Jajpur. During the Bhanjas of Khinjalimandala (eighth-ninth century A.D.) towns like Vanjulaka and Angulaka (modern Angul) find mention as prosperous cities and centres of trade and commerce. During the Somavamsis (tenth-eleventh century A.D.) two cities of prominence emerged as trading centres. Those were Choudwar, on the Mahanadi-

Virupa confluence and Viraja on the bank of river Vaitarani. In later times also, e.g., in Ganga period (eleventh-twelfth century A.D.) Kalinganagara, identified with Mukhalingam in the Andhra Pradesh and other administrative centres like Simhapura, Dantapura, Jayantipura, etc. existed. No doubt commercial activities must have taken place in these cities. During the reign period of Anangabhimadeva III, Abhinava Varanasi kataka (the present Cuttack city) came into prominence. Besides, there were other port-towns which became centres of commercial activities during the period under review.

Merchant class

The emergence of the towns needed the presence of the traders or merchants with whom the surplus of the countryside was concentrated. Besides the small traders or peddlers, a group of big merchants were engaged in long distance and overseas commercial business. They collected huge amount of merchandise from the centre of production and sent them to trading centres of different parts of the country or to foreign lands. A. L. Basham writes– "........ a class of large merchants, as distinct from small traders and peddlers existed atleast from the time of Buddha." Here, reference can be made to Tapassu and Bhallika, two merchant brothers of Utkala who with five hundred carts-load of merchandise travelled to *Majjimadesa* (middle country) through the roads to meet God Buddha. Though there is no more reference to merchants of Orissa in any other literary or inscriptional sources, still it can be safely suggested that with the growth of towns, merchants and traders were indispensable for the appropriation of local surplus.

Trade rates

For the success of trade and commerce, routes are indispensable. Orissa had a large number of land, river and sea-routes for carrying on her trade. The earliest reference to it is gleaned from the case of Tapassu and Bhallika that presupposes a fair trade route from Utkala to *Majjimadesa* (middle country or *Madhyadesa*). Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga was linked the Potana or Potali, the capital city of Assaka or Asvaka, situated in the south-western direction of Kalinga as is evident from the *Chulakalinga Jataka*. There was a link between Jajpur, Pithapuram and Gaya as is known from the legendary account of Gayasura. It is known from the 'Gayasura Mahatmya' section of *Vishnu Purana* that the head of Gayasura lay at Gaya, his corpse stretched from Gaya to Pithapur and navel remained at Jajpur. This suggests that there might be some relation among those places and pilgrims would have moved from one of these places to other. So, commercially, these places would have a link through routes. Similarly, *Ekamra Kshetra* (Bhubaneswar) and *Srikshetra* (Puri) were two other important centres of pilgrimage during early medieval time. There must have been commercial link between Orissa with other parts of the country due to its religious importance for pilgrims. During the fourth century B. C., the Sonpur-Titilagarh region were perhaps, connected with port cities like pithunda and Dantapura, in the coastal region of Orissa on the one hand and with Kasi and Kausambi, on the other. Though there is no mention of routes through which the army of the Nandas and Mauryas invaded Orissa, still, the possibility of the existence of land route for Magadha to Kalinga can never be ignored. The separate Kalinga edict of Asoka at Dhauli states that the prince at Ujjaini was required to send the *Mahamatras* to Tosali. Definitely those *Mahamatras* must have followed the routes from Ujjaini to Kalinga. Similarly, a good road system must have connected Tosali with Samapa. During the reign of Kharavela, from the march of his army to different directions, it can be presumed that ancient Kalinga was linked with other parts of the country through land routes. P. Acharya, on the basis of findspots of varieties of coins, suggests that there were trade routes from the Suvarnarekha valley to Puri via Manbhum-Singhbhum, the northern Mayurbhanj districts and Vaitarani valley.

During Samudragupta's campaign, he proceeded upto Nellore through the coast road from Kalinga. A number of roads, well connected the region of Kalinga and Kosala. The travel of Hiuen Tsang from Karnasuvarna to Kosala via Odra (*Wu-cha*), Kongoda (*Kung-yu-to*) and Kalinga (*Ki-ling-kia*) suggest that perhaps, he had followed the same route what Samudragupta had followed during his campaign. A Ganga inscription refers to *Dharmaraja Kalinga Marga* which perhaps, connected the Gangam region of the coastal Orissa linking Kalinga, Utkala, Vanga and Suhma. The expedition of Rajendra Chola (1023-1075 A.D.) to Dandakabhukti through the coastal region of Orissa, suggests that there were high roads connecting Orissa with her neighbouring regions.

River ways

River ways were probably the chief routes of inland trade. On river banks, stood principal towns. The Mahanadi, the Vaitarani, the Suvarnarekha, the Brahmani and the Risikulya, their branches and tributaries were utilised for commercial purpose. To a greater extent, these rivers must have helped in the internal trade of the region in the period under review. The use of boats was also an indicator in this direction. References in Bhauma epigraphs for granting the right over landing places on bank of the river (*ghata*) and ferry places (*naditarastthana*) to the beneficiaries seggest to the use of boats on a considerable scale. This obviously suggests the use of rivers for the purpose of inland trade and commerce. (For sea routes, see maritime trade).

Means of transport

Means of transport is very intimately related with trade and commerce. In ancient and early medieval Orissa, bullockcarts were used for the purpose of overland transport as is seen in present-day rural area of this land. This fact, as stated earlier, has been established from the instance of Tapassu and Bhallika who met God Buddha with carts-load of merchandise. A stone sculpture of eighth-ninth century A.D. projects a bullock-cart thus making the fact quite clear. Elephants were used for the purpose of inland transport as is evidenced from the account of Hiuen Tsang. It is known that ancient Orissa was famous for big elephants and so, it is apparent that elephants must have been used as means of transport in Orissa of the period under review. Buffaloes, alongwith bullocks and asses might have been used also for the same purpose as is evidenced from the Ganga inscription.

Boats

For the water-borne trade, both inland and maritime, boats were used. The Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela refers to ships. The earliest architectural representation of boat is gleaned from the roof of the Vaitala temple at Bhubaneswar during the period of the Bhauma-Karas. Further, the figure of a boat in the Bhogamandapa of the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri testifies to the fact. In later period, we find the names of different varieties of boats namely *bhelaka, variratha, nauh, tarikah, vahanah, palavah, tarandhuh* and *varavatah* from the lexicon, *Trikandasesa* of Purusottamadeva, the Gajapati king of Orissa. All these epigraphic and literary evidences clearly show that boats were used, to a greater extent, both in river-borne and overseas trade.

Trade items

Trade items depict very well the commercial activities of a particular region. The natural resources and industries enabled the Orissan merchants to trade with variety of items. Rice, wheat, barley, salt, incense, elephants, timber, conch-shells, stone, iron products, etc. would have formed principal items of export. Hiuen Tsang mentions about the best varity of wild elephants of Kalinga which were sold in the adjoining regions. It makes the fact clear that Orissa must have developed trade relation with the nearby states of the Palas, Senas, Kalachuris, Cholas, Eastern Chalukyas, etc. In ancient period, Orissa maintained trade relation with Magadha and Madhyadesa. An inscription of Ganga period mentions about a township situated in Puranagrama and Jayanagaragrama (the present village of Nagari, about 11 miles from Cuttack) where lived artisans and merchants such as *gandhika* (perfumers), *sankhika* (dealers in conch-shells), *patakara* (splitters of wood), *svarnakara* (goldsmiths), *tantuvaya* (weavers), kumbhakara (potters), etc. This certainly established the fact that the items produced by these artisans might have formed the goods of export. About the export of rice and clothes from Orissa there are ample evidences.

Articles of import and export

Among the articles of import pearl, silver, silk and fine spices formed the chief items. Fa-hien had noticed the pure and brilliant collection of pearls from the sea of Ceylon which might have formed one of the export items of Ceylon to Orissa. Silver was imported to Orissa probably from the Gupta period from Ceylon as Orissa had no silver mines. The silk of China might have been imported to Orissa with which she remained culturally connected during the period under review. Since Orissa developed overseas commercial relation with Java and Sumatra, the local products of these islands like cloves, spikenard and other fine spices might have been coming to Orissa from these islands.

The Coinage system

Coming to the coinage system of the period, we find the prevalence of punch-marked coins both local or 'Janapada' type and imperial or 'universal' type in Orissa and the former is found exclusively in the western part of Orissa. Coins (punch-marked) came to Orissa probably during the Mauryas after Asoka's Kalinga War of 261 B. C. as suggested by the discovery of terracotta coin-moulds from the excavation at Sisupalagarh. The Satavahanas, the Kusanas and the Guptas had no dominant rule in Orissa and hence, their coins most probably did not play any role in the trade and commerce of the land. The second line of the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela reveals that for beautifying his capital, he spent thirty five hundred thousand coins in the very first year of his reign. Line ten of the same inscription points out the spending of thirty eight hundred thousand coins for the construction of *Mahavijayaprasadam* in his ninth regnal year. These facts clearly prove that during his reign period coins were used in transaction.

Medium of exchange

During early medieval times in Orissa, the terms like *madha, pala, mada, pana, rupya, churni, purana, mashaka, gunja* alongwith cowrie occur in different inscriptions which formed the medium of exchange. M.M. Chakravarti remarks that *madha* was weight of forty *ratis*. P. Mukherjee maintains that *madha* was a piece of gold weighing forty *ratis* and it was not a stamped coin. W.W. Hunter takes it as one-fourth of a *tola*. D.C. Sircar views that it was a coin weighing forty *ratis*. It is really difficult to assign uniform weight to these coins for the stone inscriptions of the kings of later Ganga dynasty mention difficult kinds of *madas* and other coins like *gandamadas, mallamadas, matsyamadas, chirugandamadas, sasukanitankas*, etc. The inscriptions of the Sulki and Tunga refer to *pala* and the Ningondi grant of the Mathara ruler Prabhanjanavarman refers to *pana* which were used as coins. The Talcher copper-plate grant of the Sulki ruler Kulastambha and a grant of the Tunga ruler refer to *rupya* which was in circulation in those days about which nothing definite is known. The nature of *palas, mashas* and *gunjas* is not definitely known. They might have formed coins during this period.

Cowrie currency

Among the coins of the period under review, cowrie was frequently used as medium of exchange. The earliest reference to the prevalence of cowrie currency is gleaned from the account of Hiuen Tsang. In the copper plate grant of Subhakara II of the Bhauma dynasty, reference to cowrie occurs. Of course, nothing definite is known about the exchange value of cowrie currency with gold and silver coins. However, cowrie was used as a great medium of exchange in early medieval Orissa. The unit of measures like *kada* (equal to fifty cowries), *ganda* (equal to four *kada*), *pana* (equal to twenty *gands*) etc. are still used in many villages of Orissa.

Maritime trade

Maritime trade also formed a great part of Orissa commercial relation with outside world. Several factors were responsible for such maritime trade and commerce of ancient and medieval Orissa.

Reminiscences of sea voyages

It is not possible to say exactly when the people of Orissa started their maritime contacts. Raminiscences of the sea voyages of ancient Kalingans are still preserved in the folk-lore of the land. One such powerful folk-lore is *Khudurukuni Osa* observed in the month of *Bhadrava* (August-September) everywhere in Orissa, particularly in the coastal villages. The story behind this relates to a *Sadhava* (merchant) family consisting of seven brothers, their worship to Goddess Mangala, ill-treatment to their only sister Tapoi by her sisters-in-law during their absence, their ultimate return, etc.

The Kartika Purnima

Besides, there is one peculiar custom in Orissa which speaks of the sea voyage of the people of this land in ancient times. On the fullmoon day of *Kartika* (October-November), the Oriyas, both men and women, take bath in rivers and ponds early in the morning and float miniature boats made of the barks of the plantain trees or of paper with the lamp burning inside them.This custom appears to be symbolic of the sea-voyage which was generally being undertaken in the month of *Kartika* when rainy season is over.

Reference in Literature

Further, in the fourth fifth century A.D., during Gupta period, Kalinga's maritime activity was so well known that Kalidasa, in his *Raghuvamsa*, described the king of Kalinga as *Mahodadhi Pati* 'the Lord of the Ocean'. The medieval Buddhist text *Arya Manjusri Mulakalpa* describes the islands of India Ocean as *Kalingodradesa* and regfers to the worship of Goddess Mangala to protect the sailing ships from the hazards of the sea-voyage testifying Orissa's maritime activities. Two early medieval temple sculptures corroborate the above fact by depicting a series of boats carrying elephants, zigzag lines indicating waves of the sea with half-shown fishes, carbs and crocodiles.

Other factors

Factors like deep cut sea coasts, navigable rivers,adventurous spirit of the Kalingans (*Kalinga Sahasikah*) love for foreign trade, political misfortune of Orissan. kings at times, the incentive of Orissan kings, e.g. King Kharavela and the existence of ports, etc. would have definitely contributed for maritime trade. Concerning the misfortunes of the Orissan king, Prof. K.C. Panigrahi presumes that the Sailendras of Java or Suvarnadvipa were the Saliodbhava emigrants, who being hard pressed between the Bhaumas of Utkala and the Gangas embraced Buddhism and migrated to Suvarnadvipa through the port Palur with their navy. The view seems plausible.

Ports of Orissa : Tamralipti

Among the ports of Orissa, during the period under review, Tamralipti (modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District of West Bengal) was very famous. This port-town finds mention in ancient Indian, Chinese, Ceylonese and Graeco-Roman accounts as a great international emporium of trade. King Tisa of Ceylon had sent four envoys to the court of emperor Asoka who came and went through this port and Sanghamitra (the daughter of Asoka) sailed from this port to Ceylon with the sacred *Bodhi* tree. Here at this port, Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim boarded a large merchant vessel and reached Ceylon after fourteen days on his return journey to China. I-tsing, another Chinese pilgrim reached the port of Tamralipti in 671 A.D. after returning from Sumatra. It was famous for exporting cloth and copper in large quantity. It was the most famous port in the Bay of Bengal from which people travelled to China, Ceylon and South-East Asia.

Palur

Another important port was Palur which finds mention as 'Palour' in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (C-A.D. 1st century) and Ptolemy's description (C-A.D. 2nd century).

It has been identified with the modern village of Palur on the coast of the Bay of Bengal in Ganjam district. Dantapura, mentioned in the Buddhist and Jaina texts, is perhaps same as Palur, since *Pallu* and *Ur*, the two terms in Tamil, indicate the meaning tooth (*danta*) and city (*pura*). It was a prosperous town. A descendant of Asoka is said to have embarked on a ship at Dantapura, which suffered shipwreck and thus, he settled on the coast of Malaya Peninsula. The port of Palur continued to be a port of Kongoda from where Subhakarasimha embarked for China in the eighth century A.D.

Pithunda

Pithunda was another port of Kalinga in ancient times. The Jain text *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* mentions that it was a famous centre during the days of Mahavira and merchants from Champa were coming to this place for trade. The Hatigumpha inscription mentions Pithunda as a metropolis of Kalinga. This Pithunda is the same Pithundra in the *Periplus* and *Geography of Ptolemy.* Sylvain Levi located Pithunda to the south of Palur neat Chicacole and Kalingapattanam.

Che-li-ta-lo

Che-li-ta-lo (Charitra), as described by Hiuen Tsang, was another port town situated on the sea-coast of *Odradesa* (North Orissa). From his account, it is known that Che-li-ta-lo was not only a prosperous port but also a centre of Buddhism and it contained four Buddhist stupas. It was a rendezevous for merchants who embarked on the sea and for others from distant places who travelled here and there. According to Cunningham, Che-li-ta-lo is the other name of Charitrapura which he identifies with Puri and most of the scholars accept this view. Now-a-days, attempts are being made by scholars to identify Che-li-ta-lo with Manikpatna nere Chilka lake. This assumption does nor seem sound because the excavation conducted in that site has failed to project Buddhist monuments or remains which might have been found from that place as per the description of Hiuen Tsang. However, to the present writer *Che-li-ta-lo* might be a place near Diamond Triangle—(Lalit Giri, Ratna Giri and Udaigiri) from Chandikhol towards Paradeep port, which was during the period of Hiuen Tsang, a Buddhist centre. Of course, attempts are being made to identity *Che-li-ta-lo* with Tirtol now-a-days. However, no definite location of this part has been finaly suggested yet.

Other ports

It is almost impossible to know the location of such other ancient ports as Nainagaina, Kati Kardam, Kannagar (may be present Konarka in Puri district) mentioned by Ptolemy. The *Hudud-ul-Alam-* (A.D. 982 or 983) mentions a port Nubin which was situated in Dahum (probably Bhauma) country (Mamlakat) and corn (ghalla) of Sarandib (Suvarnadvipa or modern Sumatra), came from this town. It seems that this port was used for commercial intercourse with the Malaya islands alongwith other ports like Tamralipti and Palur. Besides, these port towns, cities like Tosail, Samapa, Kalinganagari, etc. acted as trade and business centre as stated earlier.

Trade relation with outside countries – Ceylon

The ancient Kalingans maintained overseas trade relation with outside world. References to the relation between Ceylon (Simhala) and Kalinga are found in the Buddhist texts like the *Mahavamsa* and the *Dipavamsa* that reveal the establishment of the first kingdom in Ceylon by Vijaya whose grandmother was the daughter of the King of Kalinga. Ashok's sending of *Bodhi* tree, matrimonial relation between the two countries, the summoning of Vijayabahu II (1186-87 A.D.) from Kalinga by Ceylonese king Parakramabahu, proclamation of the descendants of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga by some Ceylonese kings reveal that since there existed political and cultural contacts between the two countries, the sailors of Kalinga would have definitely taken voyage to Ceylon.

Burma

Suvarnabhumi or Burma was another country with which Orissa maintained her maritime contact. The naming of Pegu coast as *Ussa* (*Odra*), the name of Proma as *Srikset*, i.e. *Srikshetra* (Puri) the name of lower Burma known as Tailanga even now, the coming of Tapassu and Bhallika, the two merchant brothers from Burma who went to Rajagriha after arriving at Adzeitta (Tamralipti), the trace of coins with Hindu symbols found at Pegu, etal lead to say that "the mighty people of Kalinga had established an empire in Burma long before Asoka led his victorious soldiers into Kalinga." Thus, it is apparent that the brisk trade relationship existed between Burma and Kalinga.

Other countries

In ancient times, the people of Orissa maintained commercial relation with Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, Malaya peninsula...collectively known as Malayasia or ancient Suvarnadvipa. Popular stories on the basis of chronicles reveal the fact that Hindus from Kalinga coast chronised the island. To some scholars, Sailendras of Java are a branch of the Sailodbhava dynasty that ruled Orissa in the seventh century A.D. *Holing*, a name was given far Java as scholars believe that this term is a Chinese form of Kalinga. The Hindu of Malaya Peninsula are still known as *Keling* which is certainly a variant form of Kalinga. From the inscription of Javanese King Airlanga (1019-1042 A.D.), it is known that merchants from Kalinga were coming to the ports controlled by him in Java.

China

The commercial relation between Orissa and China through sea can be traced from Fa-hien's account (399-411 A.D.) who returned to China from the port Tamralipti in a merchant ship. During the Bhauma-Kara rule, son of Orissan king (generally identified with Sivakara I) with Prajna (Buddhist Philosopher and teacher from Ratnagiri Mahavihara) went to China for the propagation of Buddhism. The import of silk from China to Orissa has been stated earlier. Further, the commercial link of Orissa with China during Bhauma-Kara period is proved by the discovery of a copper Chinese coin attributed to eighth century A.D. at Sirpur.

The Graeco-Roman trade

The Graeco-Roman trade with Orissa can be traced back to first century A.D. as the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* refers to some parts of Orissa as discussed earlier. The gold coin of Graeco-Roman origin from Bamanaghati (Mayurbhanj district), the rouletted Roman ware excavated from Sisupalagarh, etc. prove that there existed maritime trade and commercial relation between Orissa, on the one hand and Greece and Roman, on the other.

Trade with Africa

The commercial relation between Orissa and Africa as some scholars suggest on the basis of the sculptural representation of a giraffe on the walls of Konark temple, is certainly untennable. It is possible that the Arab traders would have brought this animal as a wonder presentation to the Ganga monarch.

The Sea routes

It is very important to mention about sea routes which were used for the purpose of maritime trade. From Fa-hien's account, it is known that he embarked on a large merchant vessel from the Tamralipti and went to Ceylon, from Ceylon to Java and from Java to China. Harsavardhan asked Hiuen Tsang that he would be provided with official attendants if he selected the sea-route to China through Java. I-tsing also reached Tamralipti in A.D. 673 by the sea-route from China. Further, Chao-Jukua's *Chu-fan-Chi*, reflects that during seventh century A.D., the sea-route between India and China was exclusively used and Orissa must have maintained trade relation with China in this route. The above discussion regarding Orissa's overseas trade relation with Ceylon, Burma, Suvarnadvipa, etc. show that there existed sea-routes through which the merchants of Orissa were able to move to these far off countries by boats. Though, sea-routes were not free from dangers like pirates, hidden rocks, rough weather, wreatched condition of boats, still sea-routes were preferred by merchants to carry on trade with oversea islands. Coinage, articles of export and import, different varieties of boats associated with maritime trade, etc. have been discussed earlier.

The overall picture testifies to the fact that ancient and medieval Orissa was great in power and resources which were apparently derived from her inland and maritime trade. The ancient trade routes, urban centres and port-towns of Orissa had helped a lot in maintaining trade relation with outside world. Towards the close of the early medieval period, particular by during the glorious epoch of the Gangas, maritime trade was given much impetus. The political stability of Orissa gave scope to trade and commerce, both inland and overseas, that brought economic prosperity to this land which stimulated the growth of her social and cultural life.

Though the economic condition of ancient and medieval Orissa is constructed with great difficulty, still a look into it, gives satisfaction that people of this land were happy and prosperous. As is evident from the discussion, agriculture formed the chief occupation of the people. Various industries, discussed earlier, give an idea regarding different professions followed by the people of this land in the period under review. Surplus production, emergence of towns and port towns, merchant guilds, trade-routes, means of conveyance etc. facilitated the people to carry on inland and maritime trade. The wealth, derived by the trade and commerce, made this land rich and prosperous.

Religious Condition

From ancient times, Orissa has become the cradle of several religious faiths. This land witnessed the growth of various religions like Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, Vaisnavism, Saktism, Ganapatya cult etc. With the gradual march of time, all these faiths were assimilated in one faith i.e. the cult of Lord Jagannath which is quite unique in the cultural heritage of this land.

JAINISM

Among all the religious faiths, Jainism was the first religion that went a long way in influencing the people and culture of Orissa. The Jaina monuments of Udayagiri, Khandagiri, Anandpur, Podasingidi, Charampa, Ayodhya, Jaleswar, Pratapanagari, Choudwar, Prachi Valley, Nandapur and other parts of Koraput district etc. throw welcome light in tracing the development of Jainism in Orissa.

Advent of Jainism in Orissa

Of course, it is not exactly known when Jainism entered into Orissa. Lines 11-12 of the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela refers to the fact that he brought back Kalinga Jina from Magadha to Kalinga in his twelfth regnal year by defeating king Bahasatimita. As stated earlier, most of the historians tend to identify Kalinga Jina with Rishavanatha, the first Jaina *Tirthankara*. However, scholars are unanimous with the fact that Rishavadeva was not instrumental in preaching Jainism in Orissa.

Coming of Parsvanath to Orissa

The images of Parsvanatha found from Khandagiri, Udayagiri and several other places of Orissa testify to the fact that Parsvanatha, the twenty-third *Tirthankara* of the Jainas, might have preached Jainism in Orissa in 8th century B.C. as he flourished 250 years before Mahavira. The Jaina *Kshetra Samasa* refers that Parsvanatha preached Jainism in Kopakataka which has been identified by N.N. Vasu with Kopari of the present Balasore district. Further, from the Jaina *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* and other canonical works, it is known that a king named Karakandu or Karandu (probably the disciple of Parsvanatha) of Kalinga had embraced Jainism and spread it in his kingdom and neighbouring states before the coming of Mahavira to Kalinga. As per the *Abhidhana Rajendra* and *Kumbhakarna Jataka*, Karakandu realised the impermanence of the world, renounced it and became ascetic preaching Jainism.

Visit of Mahavir to Orissa

Vardhamana Mahavira, who raised his voice against the predominance of the Brahmanical religion, preached Jainism in Kalinga. As per the description of Jaina *Harivamsa Purana*, Mahavira visited Kalinga and preached his doctrine because the king of Kalinga was a friend of his father. This fact has been corroborated by another Jaina work named

Haribhadriyavritti. The Jaina *Avasyakasutra* mentions that he had visited Toshali, the capital of Kalinga in connection with the preaching of Jainism in this land. The *Vyavahara Bhasya* informs that Toshali, by that time, possessed a nicely carved image of God Jaina (Parsvanatha ?), upon which king Toshalika kept close watch. Without any doubt, Toshali has been identified by historians as the modern Dhauli, a few miles away from Bhubaneswar. Line 14 of the Hatigumpha inscription gives a clue that Mahavira preached Jainism from that place (Kumari *Parvata*=Udayagiri). The Jaina *Avasyaka Sutra* informs that the Kshatriyas of Toshali saved Mahavira's life when he was to be hanged by the people who suspected him as a robber. Then Mahavira proceeded towards Toshali and Prof. N. K. Sahu identifies it with the region lying between Ganjam and the Godavari delta. This fact has been corroborated by the Jaina *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* which states that Pithunda (also described in the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela), a great port on the sea coast of Kalinga was a great centre of Jainism during Mahavira's visit to Kalinga. Further, from *Bhagavati Sutra*, it is known that Mahavira visited two villages named Kumaragrama and Sidharthagrama in Kalinga accompanied by Goshala Makkhali Putta. The Ganga inscriptions found from Achyutapuram and Siddhantum testify to this fact. It is evident from Kharavela's Hatigumpha inscription that Jainism was quite in a flourishing condition in Orissa receiving his patronage as he brought back the Kalinga *Jina* from Magadha in his twelfth regnal year which had been taken earlier by *Nandaraja* from Kalinga. Thus, from very ancient times till the first century B.C. Jainism prevailed in Kalinga.

Jainism in 5th century B.C.

Jainism was definitely followed by the people of Kalinga in the 5th century B.C. It has already been stated that as per the description of Hatigumpha inscription. Nandaraja Jad taken away the Kalinga Jina (Rishavadeva, Parsvanatha or Kalinga *Jinasana* i.e., the seat of a Jaina *Tirthankara* as Prof. K.C. Panigrahi opines) from this land. This fact suggests that Jainism prevailed in Kalinga in the 5th century B.C. and with a tolerable degree of certainty, it can be stated that it was the state religion. The worship of the image of Jaina *Tirthankara* by the people of Orissa suggests that Jainism was very much popular among the people of Kalinga in the 5th-4th century B.C.

Jainism during Kharavela

The state of Jainism in Orissa from the extinction of the Nandas till the invasion of Asoka is shadowy. One fact is clear that after Asoka's Kalinga War, Buddhism was popularised in Orissa by the efforts of Asoka. However, it is presumed that Jainism existed side by side with Buddhism in Orissa. In the 1st century B.C., Jainism reached the pinnacle of celebrity during the reign period of Mahameghavahana Aira Kharavela. The very tone of the Hatigumpha inscription proves Kharavela as a Jaina ruler who took measures to promote the faith in Kalinga. The sculptures at Udayagiri hills, the bringing back of Kalinga Jina, the caves built by Kharavela with his kith and kin for the ahartas in Khandagiri and Udayagiri etc. amply corroborate the fact that Kharavela patronised Jainism. As per the description of lines 8 and 9 of the Hatigumpha inscription, it is revealed that after the successful operation against the *Yavanas* (Indo-Greeks) in Mathura, Kharavela brought a sapling of the *Kalpa* tree burdened with foliage from that place to Kalinganagari, his captial, with a grand procession. Undoubtedly this *Kalpa* tree is associated with the first Jaina *Tirthankara* Rishavanatha and Kharavela wanted to attain *Punya* (religious merit) by transplanting this tree is Kalinganagari. Further, he also reclaimed the ancient city Pithunda through plough drawn by asses and that revived the glory of the place which was so intimately related with Mahavira in the past. Thus, Kharavela's reign period was golden epoch for Jainism in Kalinga.

Jainism in 3rd century A.D.

From the fall of the Chedis and particularly after the death of Kharavela, it becomes difficult to project a connected history of Jainism in Orissa. However, the archaeological excavation at Sisupalagarh during 1948-1949 brings to light among the remains on gold coin bearing the name '*Maharajadhiraja Dhammadamadhara*' who was a Murunda king. He was a follower of the Jaina faith, opines A.S. Altaf ruling over Orissa and Bihar in the second half of the third century A.D. The *Dhatavamsa* informs that he worshipped the *Nirgranthas* (Jainas). Around the final-quarter of the 3rd century A.D., a king of this land named Guhasiva is known to have worshipped the *Nirgranthas.*

Jainism in 3rd-4th century A.D.

During the period of the Nagas and Guptas around 3rd-4th centuries A.D., Jainism flourished in Orissa. The Asanpat inscription of Keonjhar district reveals that *Maharaja* Satrubhanja of the Naga dynasty donated huge amount of wealth of *Bhikshus* and *Nirgranthas* although he was a follower of Saivism. The Matharas who held their sway over the southern part of Kalinga, were ardent followers of Jainism. The source reveals that the Matharas named one of their headquarters at Vardamanapura in honour of Lord Mahavira. The Eastern Gangas, who succeeded the Matharas, also professed Jainism as they used the sacred emblem of elephant in their inscriptions which clearly establishes their deep longing towards the Jaina faith.

Jainism in 7th century A.D.

In the 7th century A.D., during the glorious days of the Sailodbhavas, Jainism had its ascendancy in Orissa. Hiuen Tsang who visited Orissa in 638-639 A.D. narrates the state of religion in this land as such :

> "...........in Orissa there were only 50 *Deva* temples; in Kongoda the *Deva* temples were 100 in number and of *Tirthikas* there were more than 10,000........ in Kalinga the professed adherents of the various sects were very numerous, the majority being Nirgranthas."

The Sailodbhava inscriptions, particularly the Banapur and Parikud copper plates of Madhyamaraja I give a graphic description regarding the practice of the *Yoga* by the hermits who looked the thousand-rayed sun with intensity which caused mutilation in their faces. This typical practice can be related with that practice what Vesayana, an ascetic was performing at Kumaragrama when Mahavira visited the place with Goshala Makkhaliputta. That legacy of the severe austerity practised by the Jains from the time of Mahavira Jaina was definitely being inherited by the ascetics during the Sailodbhava period. The caves at

Krishnagiri in Banapur and the rich Jaina antiquities of that area including the images of Rishavanatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira etc. clearly indicate that Jainism flourished during the reign period of the Sailodbhavas. Further, the Banapur plates of Dharmaraja II of this dynasty records the grant of land by his queen Kalyani Devi in favour of two monks of *Svetamvara* Jaina faith named *Arhatacharya* Nasichandra and his disciple Ekasata Prabuddha Chandra corroborates the fact that Jainism also prevailed during the reign period of the Sailodbhavas.

Jainism from 8th to 10th century A.D.

Jainism definitely continued as a religion practised by the people of Orissa during 7th and 9th century A.D. side by side with Saivism, Saktism and Vaisnavism. The Bhauma-Karas, though Buddhist by faith, aslo showed religious toleration towards the Jaina faith. During the Somavamsi period in 10th-11th century A.D., Jainism received royal patronage with Saivism and Saktism. Yayati I built Muktesvara Siva temple at Bhubaneswar and its compound wall contained small Jaina images. Udyotakesari excavated the caves of Lalatendu Kesari, Navamuni and Barabhuji in the Khandagiri hill at Bhubaneswar. Thus, it is apparent that during the Somavamsi rule, Bhubaneswar emerged as a great centre of Jainism.

Jainism during Ganga and Gajapati period

During the glorious days of the Gangas and Suryavamsi Gajapatis, Brahmanism grew. During the rule of the Gajapatis, the cult of Jagannath was deep rooted in the minds of the people of Orissa. Though other religious faiths mingled in the Cult of God Jagannath, Jainism maintained its separate entity in the domain of religion.

With the gradual march of time, Bhubaneswar (Khandagiri and Udayagiri), a stronghold of Jainism, became deserted. However, numerous Jaina monuments found from different places, as stated earlier, testify to the fact that Jainism had its ascendancy in Orissa. It never extinguished from this soil. Though the rise of Buddhism, Saivism, Saktism, Vaishnavisms and other religious faiths put hurdles on the progress of Jainism, still it continued to survive ans still survives in Orissa.

BUDDHISM

Buddham saranam gachhami
Dharmam saranam gachhami
Samgham saranam gachhami
(I seek refuge in the Buddha.
I seek refuge in the Faith.
I seek refuge in the Samgha.)

Buddhism before the Kalinga war

This Buddhist lore which filled up the religious scenario of Indian sub-continent also filled up the religious firmament of this land for quite a long time. The Buddhist texts nowhere mentions about the visit of Lord Buddha to Orissa during his life time. However, Tapassu and Bhallika, two merchant brothers of Utkala who, with their 500 certs-load of merchandise travelled to *Majjimadesa* (middle country) through the roads to meet Buddha and accepted Buddhism. They were, perhaps, first men to accept Buddhism from Utkala. In the 3rd century B.C., during Asoka's invasion of Kaliaga, it is apparent that Buddhism prevailed in Kalinga. Lines 3-4 of the Rock Edict XIII of Asoka states :

> "When an unconquered country is conquered the slaughter, death and deportation that occur there, are considered extremely painful and serious by the 'Beloved of the Gods'. What is even more deplorable to the 'Beloved of the Gods' is that who dwell there, whether Brahmanas, Sramanas or other sects....."

The reference to the *Sramanas* in that edict confirms the fact that during Asoka's invasion Buddhism existed in Orissa.

Buddhism after the Kalinga war

After Kalinga War of 261 B.C., Asoka was converted to Buddhism. Asoka was instrumental in spreading Buddhism inside and outside India. Undoubtedly, he took steps to spread Buddhism, as a strategy of his diplomacy, in Kalinga to pacify its people. Tissa, the only brother of Asoka whom he had spared, was appointed as the *Uparaja* of Kalinga. Knowing his desire to retire here at Kalinga, Asoka built a monastery named *Bhojakagirivihara*. Tissa spent his time there and was known as '*Ekaviharika*'. With the coming of Dharmarakshita, the preceptor of Tissa, *Theravada* school of Buddhism was galvanised in Kalinga. The coming of Mahadeva, a great monk of *Mahasamghika* order, Dikshita, a great teacher of *Sarvastivada* school and Posada, a great scholar of that school, definitely helped to spread Buddhism in Orissa.

Buddhism from 1st to 7th century A.D.

The condition of Buddhism in Orissa after Asoka's death is not clearly known due to the paucity of source materials. From 1st century A.D. to 7th century A.D., it continued in Orissa. Aryadeva, the famous disciple of Nagarjuna and a resident of Simhapura (the then capital of Kalinga) studied in the *Mahavihara* at Parimalagiri established by Gautamiputra Satakarni. He wrote two monumental works namely, *Chatuhsataka* and *Chittasuddhaka Prakarana* on the Mahayana Buddhist philosophy. In the 4th century A.D., Bhora Saila emerged as a great Buddhist monastery in Orissa where lived Dignaga, a famous Buddhist scholar who defeated Isvarakrishna, a great *Samkhya* philosopher in scholarly discussion. Prof. N.K. Sahu identifies Bhora Saila with Biswanath hill, nearer to Delang in Puri district. Further, Dharmakirti, another great Buddhist scholar who lived in a *Samgharama* at Kalinga, defeated Kumarila Bhatta a notable Brahmanical dialectician in philosophical discussion. All these facts suggest that Buddhism prevailed in Kalinga along with other religion.

Buddhism during Hiuen Tsang's visit

During Hiuen Tsang's visit to Orissa in 639 A.D., both Hinayana and Mahayana forms of Buddhism were prevalent here. With political vicissitudes, Orissa was fragmented into four divisions i.e. Odra, Kongoda, Kalinga and Kosala. The Chinese pilgrim writes in his *Si-yu-ki* that in Odra there were 100 monasteries and 10,000 monks. He further, states that when Harsavardhan went to Odra after establishing his sway over Kongoda, the Hinayanists met him in a group and expressed their dissatisfaction over his patronage to Mahayana Buddhism which they considered as a 'sky-flower' doctrine which had been discarded by Lord Buddha. They presented a treatise to Harsavardhan and told :

> "This presents our doctrine; is there a man of the other school that can upset one single word of it."

This statement of the Hinayanists infuriated Harsa who wanted to teach them a lesson by bringing eminent scholars who would impart brilliant discourses on Mahayana Buddhism. To materialise his plan, Harsa wrote letter to Silabhadra, the Chancellor of Nalanda University to send four eminent scholars to Odra who would meet the challenge of the Hinayanists. Silabhadra selected Sagaramati, Prajnarashmi, Simharashmi and Hiuen Tsang for said purpose. However, they did not turn up because Harsa again sent message to that University to postpone the programme until further order. Hiuen Tsang, in his *Si-yu-ki*, mentions about a famous Buddhist monastery *Po-sle-p'o-ki-li* (Puspagiri) which has not been satisfactorily identified till today (see Hiuen Tsang's account on Odra). Similarly, he states about *Che-li-ta-lo* (Charitra) which was a famous Buddhist centre. In his observation on Kongoda, Kosala and Kalinga, he refers about the condition of Buddhism in Orissa (see chapter-5). Thus it is quite apparent from Hiuen Tsang's account that both Hinayana and Mahayana forms of Buddhism flourished in Orissa during his visit in 7th century A.D.

Buddhism during the Bhaumakara period

The Bhauma-Kara period constituted a golden epoch for Mahayana Buddhism in Orissa. By extending royal patronage, they saved it from extinction and made it capable of standing on the same footing with Hinayanism. From the Neulpur charter, it is known that the early Buddhist kings like Kshemankaradeva, Sivakaradeva and Subhakaradeva bore the Buddhist, titles *'Paramopasaka'*, *'Paramatathagala'* and *'Paramasaugata'* respectively. Sivakaradeva I, the Bhauma-Kara king, sent an autographed manuscript *Gandavyuha*, a Buddhist work, as presentation to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong and instracted a Mahanayana scholar Prajna to supply the translation of that Buddhist text to the emperor. This shows that the Bhauma-Karas even tried to spread Buddhism beyond Orissa and outside India. The hills of Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri, in the present Jajpur district, were centres of Buddhism during Bhauma period. The images of Tara, Bodhisttava,Vajrajvalanalarka etc. found from the excavation at Ratnagiri the images of Amitabha, Avalokitesvara, Buddha in *bhumisparsamudra*, goddess Kurukulla, Tara etc. found from Udayagiri and several images of Buddha, Manjusri, Maitreya etc. found from Lalitagiri clearly prove that Mahayana Buddhism had sufficiently advanced in that area.

The Buddhist remains at Choudwar, Solanapura, Kupari, Salipur, Khadipada, Kendrapara, Banapur etc. clearly prove that Mahayana form of Buddhism reached the pinnacle of celebrity during the Bhauma-Kara period. The Dhauli cave inscription of Shantikaradeva I reveals that a monastery named Arghyakavaratika was constructed in 829 A.D. by Bhimata and Bhatta Loyamaka. Biswarup Das opines that all the caves of the Udayagiri hill were cccupied by the Buddhist monks in the Bhauma-Kara period. The Dhauli hill was also a stronghold of Buddhism by that time. Archaeological excavations prove that the rulers of this dynasty built numerous monasteries and sanctuaries in several places of their kingdom.

The Vajrayana Buddhism also progressed in Orissa during the Bhauma-Kara rule. It was form of tantric Buddhism. From the Tibetan work *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, it is known that the tantric form of Buddhism originated at Uddiyana which has been identified by most of the scholars with Orissa. As per the information of Lama Taranath, several tantric scholars like Nagarjuna, Luipa, Saraha, Kanhupa, Padmavraja, Kambala etc. were associated with Oddiyana *Pitha*. The Tantrayana branch of Buddhism, which was branched into Kalachakrayana, Vajrayana and Sahajayana, found its expression in Orissa. Indrabhuti, the king of Sambhala (identified with Sambalpur by Prof. N.K. Sahu) in the 8th century A.D. patronised Vajrayana. In his famous work *Jnanasiddhi,* he accepted Lord Jagannath as God Buddha as is found from his expression as such :

Pranipatya Jagannatham
Sarva Janavararchitam
Sarva Buddhamayam Siddhi
Vyapinam Gaganopamam. (Verse-1)

Padmasambhava, the son of Indrabhuti went to Tibet for preaching Tantrayanism. Laxminkara, the sister of Indrabhuti, championed the cause of Sahajayana in Orissa.

The *Kalki Purana* recognises Odra as one of the five Tantra *Pithas*. The *Kubjika Tantra* mentions Viraja as the *Mahesvari* of Oddiyana. Relating God Jagannath with Katyayani, the *Kali Purnana* states :

Vimala Sa Mahadevi Jagannathastu Bhairavah
Katyayani Choddiyana Kamaksha Kamarupini.

Thus, the Tantric form of Buddhism flourished in Orissa during Bhauma-Kara period and Viraja became a great Tantra *Pitha* in 8th-9th century A.D.

Buddhism during the Somavamsi period

With the coming of Somavamsis, Saivism, gained momentum in Orissa. The invitation of the Brahmins to Viraja and performance of *Asvamedha* sacrifice by Yayatikesari led to the ascendancy of Saivism which put a check to the Tantric form of Buddhism that flourished during the period of the Bhauma-Karas. Though Brahmanical Hinduism was given impetus during the Somavamsi rule, the rulers of the dynasty showed toleration towards Buddhism by donating village, monastery etc. to the Buddhists as known from their inscription.

Buddhism during the Ganga and Gajapati rule

From 11th century to 15th century, during the glorious rule of the Gangas, Buddhism suffered a lot. References taken from the *Chaitanya Bhagavata* and *Madala Panji* establish the fact that the Buddhists were persecuted during the Ganga period. However, efforts were being made during that period for a synthesis between Buddhism and Vaisnavism. Poet Jayadeva, in his famous *Gita Govinda*, described God Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Buddha. Buddhism, which marked its ascendancy during Asoka and Bhauma-Kara period, declined during the Somavamsi and Ganga rule and at last, assimilated in the cult of God Jagannath.

SAIVISM

Down through the ages, right from the Indus valley civilization, Siva worship was popular among the people of India. It is not definitely known when Saivism entered into Orissa.

Saivism during the Kalinga war

Though the origin of Saivism is difficult to trace in Orissa, D.C. Sircar thinks that during Asoka's Kalinga War, Saivism was prevalent in this land. He suggests that Asoka was not merely moved by the blood-shed of the Kalinga War but by the plights of the innocent Brahmins belonging to Saivite faith. This assumption is untenable and the political expediency of Asoka is quite apparent behind his conquest of Kalinga and the change posed before the public was an outward show, as discussed earlier. The Hatigumpha inscription informs that Kharavela showed toleration to all the religious faiths. Though, there is no mention about Saivism categorically in the inscription, it is presumed that the Brahmanas might have followed Saivism because it was very much popular in India by that time as reference about this religion is found from Megasthenes' *Indica* and Patanjali's *Mahabhasya*.

Saivism in 1st century A.D.

At the advent of 1st century A.D., Saivism must have prevailed in Orissa. From Sisupalagarh, Keonjhar, Bhanjakia (Mayurbhanj), Balasore etc. Kushana and Puri-Kushana coins are found. Those coins contain the images of Siva and Bull suggesting the worship of Siva in Orissa. Prof. K.C. Panigrahi opines that the Uttaresvara Siva temple at Bhubaneswar bears the influence of Andhra style of the Satavahana period and thus, in 2nd century A.D., Saivism was quite known in Orissa.

Saivism from 2nd century A.D. to 4th century A.D.

At the beginning of 2nd century A.D., Lakulisa was born at Kayarohana (Karvan in Gujrat) and after him, the Lakulisa-Pasupata sect was named. This sect believed the worship of Siva in *linga* (Phallic) form. This sect was followed by Mattamayura of Saiva Siddhanta system whose earliest known teacher was Kadambaguhavasi who popularised the worship of Siva with his attributes around the later part of the 3rd century A.D. By 4th century A.D., both Lakulisa-Pasupata and Mattamayura sects had found their way in Orissa. At the turn of this century, the veil of obscurity is lifted from Saivism in Orissa as the Asanpat stone inscription of Keonjhar district clearly proves the presence of Saivism in this land. This inscription informs about the construction of a temple (*Devayatana*) for Lord Siva by *Maharaja* Satrubhanja of Naga dynasty. This inscription contains a Nataraja Siva image with eight hands. The image depicts to holding of a snake in upper two hands and playing of lute in lower two hands. One of the hand is found having *Varadamudra* and the other three hands hold *trisula, dambaru* and *Akshmala*. This Nataraja Siva is seen with his two attendants, Nandi and Bhrukuti. The image depicts the *tandava* dance of Siva which of course, follows the local style. The early Nala kings of Kosala like Bhavadatta Varman and Arthapatiraja of the 5th century A.D. were the followers of Saivism. It is evident from their charters when they declare that they owe the kingdom due to the grace of Lord Siva (*Maha-mahesvara-mahasenasrita rajyabhavah*). Thus, in 4th-5th century A.D. both Lakulisa-Pasupata and Mattamayura sects flourished in southern and northern parts of Orissa respectively.

Saivism in 5th and 6th century A.D.

The 5th century A.D. witnessed the rule of the Eastern Gangas who were devout Saivas. They worshipped Gokarnesvara Siva in Mahendra *giri* (present Mukhalingam in Andhra Pradesh) as their tutelary deity whom the ancient tribes of Kalinga like the *Savaras* and *Pulindas* worshipped. Though the rulers of this dynasty were worshippers of Siva, a tendency of synthesis between Saivism and Vaisnavism was a noticeable feature in the field of religion during this time. Hastivarman Narasimhapalli charter reveals that he donated a village named Rohanaka in favour of Narayana, the God of the Seven Worlds. This is a clear indication of a synthesis between Saivism and Vaisnavism. King Anantavarman of the Mathura dynast of Kilinga belonging to the 5th century was a Saiva as he assumed the title *'Paramamahesvara'*. However, several rulers of this dynasty followed Vaisnavism which undoubtedly proves that Saivism was heading towards a synthesis.

Saivism in 7th and 8th century B.C.

At the advent of 7th century A.D., Sasanka, the illustrious ruler of Gauda extended his sway upto Kongoda. The literary sources like *Kapila Samhita*, *Ekamra Chandrika* and *Svarnadri Mahodaya* give credit to Sasanka of building the temple of Tribhuvanesvara at *Ekamra kshetra* (Bhubaneswar). Later on this temple had been replaced by the present Lingaraja temple, opines Prof. K.C. Panigrahi. During this time, the early Saiva temples in Bhubaneswar like Bharatesvara, Satrughnesvara, Parsuramesvara, Lakshmanesvara, Svarnajalesvara etc. were constructed. However, there is no such archaeological proof in support of the view of Prof. Panigrahi. The Saiodbhavas, who happened to be the feudatories of Sasanka, followed Saivism which is proved from the Ganjam grant of Madhavaraja II. The Sailodbhava period also marked the progress of Mattamayura sect by the influential preaching of Rudrasiva, a great Saivite teacher of that sect. Similarly, Srikantha of the Tapang cave inscription, another great *Saivacharya*, spread *Saiva Siddhanta* system in Orissa by that time. Now, tantric and yogic practices entered into Saivism.

Saivism during the Bhauma-Kara period

The beginning of the Bhauma-Kara rule marked the progress of Saivism. Though the early Bhauma rulers were stauch Buddhists, they were not intolerant towards Saivism. To cite an example, Madhavidevi, the queen of Subhakaradeva I built a Saiva temple named Madhavesvara at Jajpur as per the description of the Hamsesvara temple inscription. The later Bhauma rulers became the followers of Saivism because the tantric Buddhism had come closer to Saivism by this time. From the Baud charters of Prithvi Mahadevi, the Bhauma queen, it is known that she granted villages for the worship of Uma-Mahesvara which proves the tantric impact on Saivism. Vakula Mahadevi was a Saiva as she assumed the title '*Parama Mahesvara*'. The Lakulisa Pasupata sect was very popular during the Bhauma-Kara period because the Muktesvara temple at Bhubaneswar of this time contains some miniature images of Lakulisa. During this period, the tantric Buddhism now mingled in Saivism as is revealed from numerous Siva temples of this pariod. During this period, the Sulkis, the Tungas and some rulers of the Nanda dynasty followed Saivism.

Saivism during the Bhanja period

In the 9th-10th century, the Bhanjas patronised Saivism. By their efforts, Saivism was popularised in a large part of Orissa stretching from Mayurbhanj to Ganjam. Sonepur also came under the spell of Saivism. Netrabhanja, the Bhanja ruler of Ghumsar sought the blessings of God Siva as such:

Jatadharah Khanda Sasankasekharah
Kapalamala sitabhasma dhusarah
Sphuran Mahapannagavad dhakankanah
Sadasivam Vo Vidha hatu Samkarah.

(O, God siva ! decorated with hair, crescent moon, garland of skulls and great serpent, bless)

This description that describes Siva with 'garland of skull' and the Sonepur grant of Satrubhanjadeva who sought the grace of Bhairava, clearly prove that tantricism had alreaty crept into Saivism. Future, the Bhanjas popularised Harihara cult as is evident from the building of Nilamadhava (Vishnu) and Siddhesvara (Siva), the twin temples at Gandharadi by Ranabhanjadeva.

Saivism during the Nalas

The Nalas were instrumental for popularising Saivism in South Kosala. This was also furthered by the coming of Rudrasiva, the God of *Amarddakatirtha* (Amarda in Mayurbhanj district) to South Kosala. Other *Saiva ascetics* like Srikantha, Sadasiva, Sulapani etc. influenced the people a lot that helped in the spread of Mattamayura ideas in South Kosala. Saivism came under the tantric spell and wanted to absorb Saktism. Ranipur-Jharial, Khiching and Viraja became the famous tantric Sakti *pithas*. The Sixty-four *yogini* temple at Ranipur was the brightest example of this synthesis.

Saivism during the Somavamsi period

With the Somavamsi rule, in 10-11th century, the coastal Orissa witnessed vigorous Saivite activities. The Lakulisa Pasupata sect lost its importance and Mattamayura sect gained momentum during their reign period. In Bhubaneswar were built great Saivite temples like the Muktesvara, Rajarani, Brahmesvara and Lingaraja. The Somavamsi rule witnessed a clear synthesis between Saivism and Vaisnavism.The Lingaraja temple projected the best example of it. The *Svayambhu linga* of that temple is demarcated clearly representing half as Hari (Vishnu) and other half as Hara (Siva). The *ayudha* on the *amalaka* of the temple is represented with *trisula* (trident) and *ardhachakra* (half a disc) marking a synthesis between Saivism and Vaisnavism. The leaves of *Vilva* and *Tulasi* are together used for the worship of the Lord inside the Lingaraja temple. All these clearly prove that the Somavamsi rule marked the synthesis between Saivism and Vaisnavism.

Saivism during the Ganga and Gajapati period

The four hundred years of the glorious rule of the greater Gangas witnessed the rise of Vaishnavism. However, Saivism was not neglected. Among the rulers of this dynasty, Chodagangadeva patronised both Saivism and Visnavism. During that period, Saivism, Vaishnavism, Saktism, Buddhism etc. all were incorporated in a single cult i.e., the cult of Jagannath. The rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapati rulers witnessed the ascendancy of Vaisnavism. However, Saivism never extinguished from this soil. Numerous Siva temples in the nook and corner of Orissa bear ample testimony of it. Till, to-day, the people of Orissa worship God Siva chanting the hymn :

Dhavalavapasmindo Vaddha-Padmasanastham
Bhujangavalayahara Bhasmadagdhangamisam
Harani Parasupani Chandramauli Trinetram
Hridaya Kamala Madhya Bhalayet Panchavaktram.

SAKTISM

The worship of Mother goddess or Sakti can be traced back to the pre-Vedic period or Harappan culture. Like other religious faiths, Saktism also found its ascendancy in Orissa and influenced her culture to a greater extent. Around 3rd-2nd century B.C., Saktism might have prevailed in Orissa as the *Yakshini* and *Nagini*, the malevolent deities of the tribals, find sculptural presentation during this time. The *Nagini* figure, in its crude form, worshipped in the temple of a village named Kapila Prasad and several *Yakshini* figures found in the vicinity of Bhubaneswar and now preserved in the Jayadeva, Orissa State museum are pointers in this direction. The earliest known Sakti *pitha* was Viraja at Jajpur, as is evidenced from literary sources like the *Mahabharata, Visnu Purana, Brahma Purana, Vayu Purana, Kapila Samhita, Kubjika Tantra, Jnanarnava Tantra* etc. With the gradual march of time, Bhubaneswar, Ranipur-Jharial, Tel valley, Puri, Jhankada, Sambalpur etc. became very famous Sakti *Pithas*. Sakti worship in Orissa took place in various forms.

The Stambhesvari cult

The Stambhesvari cult was the earlier prevalent form of worship of Sakti in Orissa. It had definitely a tribal origin. In this cult, a *stambha* (pillar) of wood or stone was worshipped as goddess. The Kalahandi copper plate of Tustikara, a king of Sulki dynasty, records that Stambhesvari was the tutelary deity of that dynasty. Places in Baud-Khondmal, Athmallik, Bolangir, Kalahandi, Angul, Ghumsar, Sambalpur etc. are even today, associated with the worship of Khambesvari. The presiding deity of sambalpur is samalesvari which is a stone pillar. In Aska of Gunjam district, Khambesvari is worshipped in the form of a wooden pillar. It was very much popular in 9th-10th century A.D. during the reign period of the Sulkis, the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. In the Kodalaka *mandala* (Dhenkanal-Angul districts), this cult was very much popular during the Sulkis. The Tungas, feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, who ruled over Jamagartta *mandala* (comprising Angul and some portion of Keonjhar districts) also devout followers of Khambesvari cult. The Bhanjas, feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, also popularised this cult in Baud, Sonepur, Phulbani and Ghumsar area. In the 10th-11th century A.D., the Khambesvari cult threw its tribal association into distant background and she was treated as the Aryan goddess. The Maranjamura charter of Mahasivagupta Yayati II, referred to *Panchamvari* Bhadrambika showing the worship of Sakti. The worship of Mother goddess continued and during the Gangas the worship of Subhadra is found inside the Jagannath temple at Puri.

Mahisamardhini Durga

Among other forms of Mother Goddess, the worship of Mahisamardini Durga occupies a prominent place in Orissa. The earliest representation of the two-armed Durga is noticed in a temple of Kalaspur around 3 kms. from Jajpur town. Demon Mahisa is represented in the form of a buffalo. The goddess is seen of holding a spear which pierces the body of the buffalo and in her left hand, she pulls the tail of that animal. Her mount lion is quite ferocious. She wears several ornaments including *Kiriti mukuta* on her head. The two-handed Mahisamardini Durga is also found from Somesvara temple near Kakatpur in the Prachi valley which is the contemporary of its counterpart at Jajpur belonging to 4th century A.D. A four-armed Mahisamardini Durga image is found in the village Motia of the Prachi Valley. The Markandesvara temple compound at Bhubaneswar also preserves a four-armed image of goddess Durga. The Madhava temple at Niali and Churchika temple at Banki also contain such variety of Durga image. Around 6th-7th century A.D., the icons of six-handed Mahisamardini Durga might have developed in Orissa. The image of such variety are rare in Orissa. The Parsuramesvara temple at Bhubaneswar bears such an image on its wall. Other two images of this variety are found from Astaranga in Puri district and Belkhandi in Kalahandi district. During the Bhauma-Kara period, a new development took place in the iconography of Durga image. The eight-armed Durga images appered in several temples of Orissa. The Vaitala temple, Sisiresvara temple and Lingaraja temple at Bhubaneswar, Kichakesvari temple at Khiching, Bhagabati temple at Banapur etc. bear such images. Right from the 10th centurty, the images of ten-armed Mahisamardini Durga appeared in several temples and that became a common form of worship of Sakti and this practice continues even to-day. However, the images of twelve-armed Durga and twenty-two armed Durga are found from Kanakesvara temple at Kualo of Dhenkanal district and Salebhata in Bolangir district respectively.

The Saptamatrikas

The images of Saptamatrikas (seven mothers) form another interesting aspect of Sakti-worship in Orissa. Even today, the hymn relating to Saptamatrikas is chanted by the Brahmins of Orissa as such :

Brahmani Kamalendu Saumyavadana
Mahesvari Lilaya
Kaumari Ripudarsana-nasakari
Chakrayudha Vaisnavi
Varahi ghana-ghora-gharghararata
Aindri Cha Vajrayudhi
Chamunda Gananatha Rudra sahita
Rakshantutvam Matarah.

Accordingly, the Matrikas are Brahmani, Mahesvari, Kaumari, Vaisnavi, Varahi, Indrani and Chamunda. The presence of Ganesha with the Matrikas is conspicuous. The deities are of two or four-armed.The earliest representation of such matrikas was found on the northern wall of the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhubaneswar. The reign period of the Somavamsis, marked the growth of this Saptamatrika cult. Among the Matrikas, very often Chamunda occupies a prominent position of being the presiding deity. She is represented with a lily bud and a *Vija-puraka* in her right hands. She holds a long *trishula* and a vase in her left hands. She looks terrific with her bulging eyes, drooping breasts and sunken belly and she is found with her mount, owl. In the next order of chronology, the Vaitala temple and Muktesvara temple at Bhubaneswar represent the Saptamatrika figures. The Somavamsi, period marked the ascendancy of Saktism in Orissa.They built Matrika temples at Belkhandi, Puri and Viraja. From Dasasvamedha *ghata* in the river bank of Vaitarini and S.D.O., office at Jajpur, two sets of such *Matrika* figures have been found. From the village, Salanpur in Jagatsinghpur, at Khicing in Mayurbhanj, Sergarh in Balasore and several other places, the images of Saptamatrikq have been found that shows the popularity of Sakti cult in Orissa.

The Yogini cult

With the rise of tantric Buddhism and tantric Saivism during the Bhauma-Kara period, the Yogini worship became popular in Orissa. Probably, it owed its origin to Kaula-Kapalika school, whose chief exponent was Matsyendranatha of Kamarupa or Assam. In

Kaulanjana Nirnaya, a famous text on the Yogini cult, it has been stated that through *mantras* and associated rituals Sakti can be aroused. The Bhauma-Karas were instrumental in bringing with them this cult because during their time, a good number of Saiva *Kapalikas* belonging to Mattamayura sect who moved inside this land, might have resorted to the worship of Yoginis. As stated earlier, the *Kalika Purana* mentions Odra as one of the important Brahmanical tantrik *pithas* of India. Sakti tantric *pithas* sprang up in Orissa at several places with Yogini temples. The famous among them is the Chausathi Yogini temple at Ranipur-Jharial in the Bolangir district. Another Yogini temple is found in Hirapur near Bhubaneswar.

Saktism and Jagannath

Like other religion, Saktism also was assimilated in the Cult of God Jagannath. For a long time, Puri remained a seat of tantric Saiva and Sakti worship as the two saktis of Jagannath were Vimala and Vairava. With the gradual march of time, Subhadra in the temple of God Jagannath, was treated as Stambhesvari, or Durga or Katyayani or Bhadrakali etc., a sakti deity. Thus, Saktism merged in the cult of Jagannath. During the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis, this culmination had already taken place.

Mangala worship

Worship of Mangala is another form of Sakti worship in Orissa. Mangala worship is related to the maritime trade. The merchants worship Mangala when they start their sea voyage. The folk tale of Tapoi, Khudurukuni Osa and the worship of Mangala are pointers in this direction.

Kali worship

Kali worship is a part of Sakti worship in Orissa. In Orissa, two types of Kali are found– Smasana Kali and Bhadra Kali. The former is worshipped in its ferocious form and the latter with its gracious form.

Laxmi worship

Laxmi worship is another part of Saktish in Orissa. Laxmi is regarded as the Goddess of wealth and fortune. During Kumara Purnima Laxmi Puja takes place in Orissa. The *Mana Vasa* in the month of *Margasira* (December-January) is vary famous for the worship of Goddess Laxmi in Orissa.

Worship of Saraswati

The worship of Saraswati is another part of sakti worship in Orissa. Saraswati in regarded as the Goddess of learning. Saraswati Puja is observed in different educational institutions.

Worship of Gramadevati

The worship of Gramadevati is a part of Sakti worship in Orissa. In several auspicious ceremonies like marriage sacred thread etc. the Gramadevatis are worshipped first. They are regarded as the presiding deities of a village. Every village in Orissa has its own Gramadevati or Gramadevatis.

Thus conceived, Saktism gained momentum in Orissa, particularly, during the Somavamsi rule. With the gradual march of time, it became popular in the nook and corner of Orissa. Sakti, in various forms and names, is even worshipped today in different parts of Orissa. Among several goddesses in Orissa, very famous are Samalesvari of Sambalpur, Bhagabati at Banapur, Viraja at Jajpur, Mangala at Kakatapur, Hinguia at Gopala Prasad, Sarala at Jhankada etc. Sakti worship in Orissa also retains its importance even today when in several auspicious ceremonies like the sacred-thread ceremony and marriage ceremony, the *gramadevatis* or *gramamangalas* are worshipped.

VAISHNAVISM

Vaishnavism has gone a long way in influencing the culture of Orissa. It is a very popular religion in the nook and corner of Orissa. Here is a discussion on Vaishnavism.

Origin of Vishnu worship

The origin of the worship of Vishnu in Orissa is shrouded in mystery. Neither literary nor epigraphic source enables the scholars to trace its origin in this land. In the absence of any concrete source material, it can be stated with tolerable degree of certainty that Vaishnavism was prevalent in Orissa in 3rd century B.C. The mention about Brahmanas in the Rock Edict XIII of Asoka proves that Brahmanism was prevalent in Kalinga during his time. In the 1st century B.C., the reference to Brahmanas occurs in the Hatigumpha inscription of king Kharavela (Line 9 states'*Brahmanas jayapariharam dadati'* and also line 17 refers '*Sava pasanda pujako sava Devayatana Samkara karako....Raja Kharavelasiri.* Thus, from Rock Edict XIII of Asoka and Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela, it is presumed that since Brahmanism existed in 3rd century B.C. and 1st century B.C. respectively, the worship of Vishnu as an important Brahmanical god, might be prevailing during the period under review.

Vaishnavism after Gupta invasion

After Samudragupta's invasion of Orissa, Vaishnavism gained momentum in this land. The Matharas, who rose in Kalinga around the middle of the 4th century A.D., Championed the cause of Vaishnavism. Not only they built Vishnu temples but also bore Vaishnavite titles befitting to their status. The rulers of this dynasty like king Sri Chandravarman in his Bobbilli and Korarti grants and king Nandaprabhajanavarman in his Chicacole and Baranga plates, adopted the title *'paramabhagavata'*. King Visakhavarman and his successor Umavarman bore the title. 'Paramdaivata' as is gleaned from their grants. King Prabhanjanavarman in his Ningondi copper plate grant, described himself as a devout worshipper of God Narayana (*Bhagavatsvami Narayana Padanudhyatah*). From the charters and grant of lands to the Vaishnavite Brahmins, it is clear that the Mathara kings were followers of Vaishnavism out and out and receiving their patronage, it spread in Kalinga.

Vaishnavism during the Nalas

The Nalas of Trikalinga, who were the contemporary of the Matharas, followed Vaishnavism. The Podagarh stone inscription of king Skandavarman found near Nowrangpur begins with an invocation to Hari. From this inscription, it is also known that he enshrined the foot-prints of Vishnu inside a temple. Thus, Bhagavatism was quite popular during the Nala rule in the 5th century A.D. The Sarbhapuriyas, who succeeded the Nalas, were also great devotee of Vishnu. The Kurud plate of King Narendra reveals that he adopted the title '*Paramabhagavata*'. King Sudevaraja of this dynasty also bore the title '*Paramabhagavata*' as is known from his Arang plates. During this period, in the silver coins of Prasannamatra, the figures of Garuda and symbols of conch and discuss are found, definitely reflecting the popularity of Vaishnava cult. The kings of this dynasty also constructed temples for the worship of God Vishnu as is evident from the Rawan plate of king Narendra. The Sailodbhavas, who had their glorious rise at the advent of 6th century A.D., were devout worshippers of Siva. However, some rulers of this dynasty were worshippers of Madhava (Vishnu). While describing the achievements of king Dharmaraja II, Madhyamaraja II in his Tekkali plate states that "his fame could not be contained in the three worlds even on the legs of Hari in Vamana incarnation." Thus, Vaishnavism received due patronage from the Sailodbhavas.

Vaishnavism during the Bhauma-Karas

With the coming of the Bhauma-Karas in the 8th century, the progress of Vaishnavism in Orissa got a set back. However, the later rulers of the dynasty like Tribhuvana Mahadevi and Prithvi Mahadevi assumed the title '*Paramavaisnavi*' as revealed from their Dhenkanal plate and Baud plate respectively. Of course, during the Bhauma-Kara period, the process of synthesis among different religious faiths like Buddhism, Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism began. Among the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, the Bhanjas of Khinjali *mandala* practised Vaishnavism simultaneously with Saivism and Saktism. The rulers of this dynasty like Satrubhanja I and Ranabhanja were devout worshippers of Lord Visnu.

Vaishnavism during the Somavamsis

The Somavamsis who, for the first time united Kalinga, Utkala, Kongoda and Kosala, were followers of Brahmanism and more particularly, Saivism. However, Yayati II, a great ruler of this dynasty patronised Vaishnavism. While praising his father Yayati II, Udyotakesari in his Narasimhapur plate states that he (Yayati II) was 'the representative of Madhusudana'. An indirect reference that Yayati II was a Vaishnava, comes from the famous Dasgoba plate of Rajaraja III that states :

Padau Yasya dharantarikshamakhilam
navischa sarvadisah.
Srotre netrayugam ravindu-yugalam.
murdhapi Cha Dyaurassau.
Prasadam Purusottamasya Nripatih
Konama karttum Kshamah.
tasyetyadinripair upekshitamayam.
Chakretha Gangesvarah.

It means—

> "What king can be named that could erect a temple to such a God as Purusottama, whose feet are the three worlds, whose navel is the entire sky, whose ears the cardinal points, whose eyes the sun and moon, and whose head the heaven (above) ? This task, which had been hitherto neglected by previous kings, was fulfilled by Gangesvara."

Thus, the above description suggests that the construction work of that temple had been earlier taken up by some kings and with all probability by Yayati II or Yayati I. It is only because the Narasimhapur plate of Udyotakesari refers Yayati II as the 'representative of Madhusudana' and the *Madala Panji* gives credit to Yayati I for building the Vimala temple and Mahalaxmi temple inside the premises of Jagannath temple at Puri. Be that as it may, the Somavamsi rulers definitely showed soft corners towards Vaishnavism.

Vaishnavism during the Ganga period

During the golden days of the imperial Gangas, from 11th century A.D. to 15th century A.D., Vaisnavism received unprecedented patronage. The Ganga rulers patronised both Saivism and Vaishnavism and really, they were instrumental for the synthesis between two religious faiths. Some rulers of this dynasty took up the title '*Paramavaisnava*'. The reign period of Chodagangadeva was remarkable due to the visit of Ramanuja, a great Vaishnava saint who exerted tremendous influence upon the former. So, Chodagangadeva became an ardent follower of Vaishnavism and took up the construction of the temple of God Jagannath at Puri abandoned by the earlier kings. The construction of Laxmi temple took place during his period. This clearly shows the influence of Ramanuja upon Chodagangadeva making him a follower of the Laxmi-Narayana cult. The worship of Sita-Rama also began during the Ganga period. From Srikurmam temple inscription, it is known that Narahari Tirtha, a great *Advaitavadin* had visited Orissa during the reign period of Bhanudeva I and acted as the spiritual guide to Narasimhadeva II, the son of the king. He installed the images of Sita, Rama and Laxmana in the temple of Srikurmam. The worship of Nrusimha also gained popularity during his time. The worship of Radha-Krishna also took place during the glorious days of the Gangas. Poet Jayadeva, who flourished in the 12th century A.D. in Orissa, immortalised the divine love between Radha and Krishna in his famous creation *Gita Govinda* written in simple Sanskrit. How simple it was, can be gleaned from the following verse of *Gita Govinda*.

Dhirasamire Yamuna tiro

Vasati Vane Vanamali

Pinapayodhara Parisaramardana

Chamchala Karayugasali (5-11-1)

Thus like Sita-Rama, Laxmi-Narayana, Radha-Krishna cult was also popularised in Orissa during the Gangas.

The massive construction of Vaishnavite temples during the Ganga period, is another proof for the spread of Vaishnavism in this land. The temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri, Anantavasudeva temple at Bhubaneswar, Nilamadhava temple at Kantilo, Gopinath temple at Remuna and sakshigopal, Nrusimhanath temple at Paikmal, temple of Alwarnath at Brahmagiri, Laxmi temple inside the complex of God Jagannath etc. clearly prove the popularity of Vaisnavism during the Ganga period.

Vaishnavism during the Gajapati period

The rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapati's constituted a golden epoch for the spread of Vaisnavism in the nook and corner of Orissa. Gajapati Kapilendradeva had declared himself as the *sevaka* (servant) of God Jagannath. The devotion of Purusottamadeva to God Jagannath is known from the Kanchi-Kaveri legend. Gajapati Prataparudradeva's reign period was marked with the visit of Sri Chaitanya to Puri. Prataparudradeva became an ardent devotee of Sri Chaitanya and the name of Radha-Krishna was a panacea to his maladies. Sri Chaitanya popularised Radha-Krishna cult through *Kirtana* in the nook and corner of Orissa. During this period, the *Panchasakhas,* namely Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Ananta Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa and Yasobanta Dasa, through their immortal creations popularised Vaishnavism in Orissa.

Thus conceived, Vaishnavism had a long march in the cultural history of Orissa. During the Ganga period it flourished receiving royal patronage. During the Gajapati era, it reached the pinnacle of celebrity. The coming of Srichaitanya and the endeavours of the *panchasakhas* through their immortai creations made Vaisnavism popular all over Orissa. It finally found its expression through God Jagannath who is considered even to-day as the *Chalanti-pratima* (living God) of the Oriyas.

GANAPATI WORSHIP

Ganesh occupies a significant position in the cultural heritage of India. The Indian literature invariably sings his glory as he is worshipped first among the realm of gods and goddesses in the Brahmanic pantheon. Almost all the temples of India bear the image of Ganapati and the Orissan temples are no exception to it. He is represented as the *parsvadevata* in many temples of Orissa and in some places, there are independent temples built for his worship. Not only he is depicted in the temples of Orissa but in the literature of this land, there are ample description about him in many contexts.

Origin of Ganesh worship

From ancient times, Orissa has occupied a prominent place in *Panachopasana.* Konarka is well known as *Arka-kshetra;* Bhubaneswar, *Saiva-kshetra;* Jajpur, *Sakta-kshetra;* Puri, *Vaishnava-kshetra* and the Mahavinayaka hill at Chandikhol in the present Jajpur district is famous as *Ganapataya-kshetra.* The find-shots of the Ganesh images are the numerous temples in the nook and corner of Orissa. The worship of Ganesh is traced back as early as the first of second part of the seventh century A.D. as is found from the Parasuramesvara temple of Bhubaneswar. In the right side *torana* of the entrance gate of the Parasuramesvara temple, the image of Ganesh has been engraved. Further, in the same temple, his image have been engraved in different walls of the *Jagamohana*. The image of Ganesh found with *Saptamatruka* without mouse, is prominent that holds *kuthara*, *modaka*, *akshamala* and *mulaka*.

Ganesh as Parsvadevata

The image of Ganesh as *parsvadevata* is found on the southern side of Svarnajalesvara temple. In the Paschimesvara Saiva temple of Bhauma-Kara period at Talcher (in the present Angul district), his image is found with Parvati and Kartikeya. Vinayaka has been depicted as *parsvadevata* in the Dakshinesvara temple at Badagaon in the Ganjam district which was the contemporary of the Parsuramesvara temple.

Ganesh with Mahisamardini Durga

In the 8th century A.D., the image of Ganesh is found with Mahisamardini Durga and Kartikeya at Sisiresvara temple in Bhubaneswar holding *Khuthara*, apot full of *modaka*, *mulaka* and *Akshamala*. The image of Ganapati is found in the Vaitala temple of Bhubaneswar towards the last part of the 8th century A.D.

Ganesh in other temples

With the gradual march of time, Ganapati images were found in the Vaidesvara Durga temple as the *Parsvadevata* in dancing posture and also in the Simhanatha temple as *parsvadevata* in the Cuttack district. Prominent Ganesh images are found in the Muktesvara temple, Kedaresvara temple, Lingaraja temple in Bhubaneswar; Ramesvara temple at Boud in the Kondmal district; Bahirangesvara temple at Dhaud; Siva temple at Delang; old Siva temple in the Champesvara village at Cuttack; Batesvara temple at Palur in the Ganjam district; Kusalesvara temple in Keonjhar district (eight-handed); Kichakesvari temple at Khiching in the Mayurbhanj district; Dhavalesvara temple in the Kalahandi district; Kali temple at Koraput (bronze image); Maninagesvara temple in the Balasore district; Jagannath temple at Puri (eight-handed Ganesh near Rohini kunda) etc.

Variant forms of Ganesh

The image of Ganesh found in various places in Orissa are markedly distinct due to the absence of mouse, the mount of the god, on the one hand, and its presence, on the other. In the first place, without mouse, the standing and seated Ganesh with usual *ayudhas* are found with snakes used as the sacred-thread and belt without *jata-mukuta*. The pedestal is either plain or occupied by a dish of flowers or fruits placed in a tripod. In very many cases of the images of this type, this proboscis is turned to the left. Such were the characteristic features of the Ganesh images in the earlier group of temples in Orissa.

The second variety of Ganesh images is quite distinct with the presence of mouse. Exception is noticed in case of the *ayudha mulaka* (radish) which is often replaced by a *bhagna-danta* (broken tusk) held in the upper right hand. A snake is used as sacred-thread (not used in many cases). The head of the deity wears *jata-mukuta*. The pedestal consists of a full-bloomed lotus. The mouse appears on the side of the deity or on the pedestal below his feet. This is found in many places of Orissa including the temples of

Vaitala and Sisiresvara. The image of Ganapati in the Ganesh Gumpha at Udayagiri bears an inscription nearby referring to *Gajasya* which also records the name of the Bhauma king Santikaradeva. From this inscription, it becomes clear that this variety is dated back to the eighth century A.D.

Now, having all these variants in the images of Ganesh found in Orissa from seventh to eighteenth century A.D. Those can be categorised under three types *viz. Asina*, *Sthanaka* and *Nrutya* from the point of iconography.

Asina Ganesh

As gleaned from the icons, the *asina* Ganesh, depicted as *parsvadevata*, are generally having four hands. There is also exception to it (five-faced Ganesh having ten hands). Generally, *kuthara* is placed in the left hand or this type of Ganesh (on the back left hand). However, in a few images, it is placed on the back right hand. In the two right hands are found *japamala* and *mulaka*. In later times, *mulaka* has been replaced by *bhagna danta*.

In the ancient iconography of Orissa, Ganesh looks to the front and the proboscis is curved towards the left of the cavity of the mouth. In a few cases, there is exception to it. After ninth century A.D., the hand of Ganesh, as stated earlier, was decorated with *jata-mukuta*. In ancient icons, snake was used as the sacred-thread but towards the close of the ninth century A.D., snake was replaced as sacred-thread and the image was decorated with armlets and tinkling anklets of snake.

A tripod, full of fruits and offerings, is found near the pedestal of Ganesh in the temples like Svarnajalesvara, Parsuramesvara, Chintamanisvara and Bharati *math*. However, in ancient temples of Orissa before ninth century A.D., on both sides of the image, pot and jack-fruit (s) are found. In the temples at Badagaon and Simhanatha, a mouse is found on the side of the tripod in seating posture holding a jack-fruit. In many cases, mouse has been engraved near the feet of Ganesh. A mouse engraved near the feet of Ganesh in Ganesh Gumpha is seem to have looked at the sweets. There is also exception to it. At Charada, in the Kapilesvara temple, Vighnaraja Ganapati is seen to have board a big mouse having his two legs on both the sides of the mouse.

In many temples of Orissa, the images of Ganesh having half body have been engraved. At Bankata, the pot of Vinayaka containing *modakas* has been placed on the tripod. This is a rare instance in the ancient iconography. At Khiching, a small image of Vinayaka is seen to have seated in *Bhadrasana*. At Motia, Ganesh is found to have seated in *padmasana* like Parvati.

Sthanaka Ganesh

The number of *sthanaka* Ganesh is rare in Orissa. It is only because maximum of these images were engraved in the ninth century A.D. These image were mostly built by the Somavamsi rulers. The images of Ganapati built from seventh to ninth century A.D. in six places show that the face of the deity has been tilted slightly towards the left and the proboscis is throwing sweets into the mouth.

Towards the 10th century A.D., the images of Ganesh in Orissa were engraved in the niches of the southern *raha* of the temples. From the temples at Chaurasi, Khiching and Shergarh, the proboscis of Ganesh curved in *mandala*, is shown of throwing sweets in to the mouth. Later on, this style was changed and the proboscis was shown of having an upward stretch to fetch sweets from the pot placed on the upright hand.

In the 11th century A.D., much more niches were built in the two-storeyed *jangha* of the temples. Besides the nich of the southern *raha*, the small icons of Ganesh were placed in other niches too. Some changes were noticeable in these *parsva devatas*. For example, in the Lingaraja and Balukesvara temples, Ganesh has been seen standing on his mount, mouse. On the other hand, the *sthanaka* Ganesh of Bayalisbati has been engraved who holds a snake by his upper two hands over his head.

Nrutya Ganesh

The *nrutya mudra* (dancing posture) of Ganapati had not become popular among the artists of Orissa upto the tenth-eleventh century . ..D. Probably, the Kesaris started this style and it was made popular in this land. The Muktesvara, Patalesvara, Brahmesvara, Papanasini temples at Bhubaneswar and other temples at Baidyanath, Paikpara, Khiching, Algum, Ghoradia, Parahat, Pedagadi, Champesvara etc. bear *nrutya* Ganapati as *Parsva devata*.

The *nrutya* Ganesh icons in Orissa are generally engraved in *lalita mudra*. The icons in *chatura mudra* are rarely found. Generally, in *nrutya mudra*, the image of Ganesh is found decorated with various ornaments of which the snake and bell form a greater part of it. The head of the image is decorated with *jata-mukuta*. His servants or *Vidyadharas* are seen of holding jack-fruit. Besides, the musicians and the devotees are found engraved below his feet. The *parsvaganas*, near the image of Ganesh having eight hands engraved on the roof of the *jagamohana* of the Muktesvara temple at Bhubaneswar, are seen dancing on lotus. This is the only exception because the iconography in Orissa never reflects the decorative motif of the temple walls of this land.

Thus, the images of Ganesh found or engraved in the temples of Orissa fall into three categories as enumerated. Among these categories, the dancing Ganesh images surpass the other two forms in artistic excellence. The evoluation of Ganapati images, down through the centuries, indicates that his worship in Orissa continued unperturbed. The study gives an introspection that the love for Ganesh among the devotees and artists was kept in tact, as the evolution of Ganesh images continued with all its splendour with the advancement of time. Thus, Ganapati cult was very popular in Orissa. The Mahavinayaka temple near Chandikhol in the present Jajpur district is a famous Ganesh *pitha*. Similarly, the other Ganesh pithas in our state are located in Panchama in the Ganjam district, Khiching in Mayurbhanj district and Karamula in the Dhenkanal district. Till now, Ganesh occupies a revered position in the minds of the millions of people as is observed from the mode of worship at different Hinduite temples of Orissa, may be Saiva, Sakta, Vaisnava and so on and so forth and with the usual festival concerning him i.e. the Ganesh puja, observed with much fanfare in the nook and cornor of Orissa.

HARI-HARA CULT

The Hari-Hara Cult is a peculiar religious faith which prevails in Orissa. Vishnu and Siva, although are two Gods but they are also treated as one and inseparable. The *Harivamga* projects Siva and Vishnu as one and indivisible. The Origin of this cult is traced back to the Indo-Scythian King Huviska. In his coin the four armed god stands holding a battle axe with a snake and a conch cell having the attribute of God Siva and Vishnu. The Hari-Hara Cult in Orissa also gained popularity.

Origin

The origin of the Hari-Hara Cult in Orissa is difficult to trace. However, it can be stated that during the period of the Eastern Gangas this cult came into force in south century A.D. The Eastern Gangas were the worshippers of Gokarnesvara Siva. By that time the Matharas had already popularised the Pancharatra Cult of Vaishnavism which had influenced the Eastern Gangas. So Hastivarman sang the glory of both Siva and Vishnu in his Narusimhapalli Charter in no uncertain terms. Although Hastivarman took up the title *Paramamahesvara*, he donated a villaged named Rohanaka in the Varcha vartini Vishaya to God Narayana. Infact, Hastivarman was instrumental for the beginning of the Hari-Hara Cult in Orissa.

Hari-Hara Cult in Svetaka Mandala

A branch of the Ganga family ruled over svetaka *Mandala* in 8th century A.D. The popularity of Hari-Hara Cult was there very much in that period. It is attested from the fact that Ela, the queen of Indravarman donated a portion of land to sri Vishnu Lokamadhava. She also donated a portion of the same land to Bhattaraka Siva. Further she donated from the same and the other Brahmins. Thus, it is appare at that Hari-Hara Cult had gained popularity during that period in svetaka.

Hari-Hara images in Mukhalingam

The Mukhalingesvara temple at Mukhalingam projects many Hari-Hara images during the early Ganga period. A four-armed standing. Hari-hara image appear on the south-west corner of that temple. The right half of the image is Hara and the left represents Hari. The image is found holding wheel and conch in the upper and lower left hands. In the right upper hands it holds a rosary and on the lower right hand, a fruit. The distinct Saivite features of this image are *Urdhvalinga, Jata Mukuta* and bull on the othe hand sacred thread, conch, wheel and Kirtikukhas are the Vaishnavite features of the image.

Another image of Hari-Hara is found in the northern side niche of the Jagamohana of Madhukesvara temple at Makhalingam. The left hand of the crown is represented with the *Kiriti Mukuta* of Vishnu. The right hand projects the *Jata Mukuta* of Siva. The Saivite features of the temple are snake, bull, trident and the third eye. The Vaishuavite characteristics like the lotus, club, discand conch are present in the image. The somesvara temple also projects the image of Hari-Hara. Thus, the Hari-Hara Cult originated and great during the period of the early Gangas.

Hari-Hara Cult during the Sailodhavas

The Sailodhavas cf Kougoda were devout Saivas. The Ganjam plates of Mashavaraja II shows his devotion at the feet of Siva (God of the three worlds). Ont eh other hand, the Khurda plates of Mahabaraja records the worship of Madhava. The temples built during that period also project Hari-Hara images. In the facades of the Satrughnesvara temple at Bhubaneswar an image of Hari-Hara is found. The standing image holds a trident in the upper right hand and Vestiges of *Sarpa Kundala* are visibel behind his right shoulder. Thus, the sailodhavas made a significant contribution in bringing a farmany between Saivism and Saivism.

The Bhanjas and Hari-Hara Cult

The Bhanja rule was also significant. THe Bhanja rulers were feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas, Somavamsis and the imperial Gangas. The Bhanjas ruled over Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Angual, Dasapalla and Ghumsar. The early Bhanjas were the worshippers of Siva. However, a branch of the Bhanjas came to Sonepur region. Satrubhanjadeva, the second ruler of the Bhanjas of Sonepur was the founder of the city of Gandiatapati which is known at present as Gandharadi where exist the twin temples of siddhesvara and Nilamadhava. In due course of time, the Bhanjas adopted the title *Parama Vaishnava*. Thus, *Parama Mahesvara* and *Parama Vaishnava* were the titles borne by the Bhanja Kings which show that Hari-Hara Cult had gained popularity during the Bhanja Period.

Hari-Hara Cult during the somavamsis

Hari-Hara Cult made a great progress during the somavamsi rule. Tivaradeva, the first king of the panduvamsi or somavamsi dynaste was the fellower of Vaishnavism as is known from his title *Parama Vaishnava*. During the rule of Balarjuna who assumed the title *Parama Mahesvara*, both Paivism and Vaishnavism existed in South Kosala. In the capital city of Sripura, a four armed Vishnu image is found sitting on Garuda in the Gandhesvara temple *Mandapa*. In the Kosalesvara temple, the Hari-Hara image is found whose left side represents Vishnu and the right side, Siva. The Vaidyanath, Ranipur-Jharial and Nrusimhanatha temples represent Hari-Hara Cult.

Hari-Hara Cult found, its expression fully well during the Somavamsi rule. The Maha Vinayaka temple at Chandikhole in the present Jajpur District shows *Panchopasana* where Vishnu and Siva are represented. Similarly, the Lingaraj temple is the perfact representation of the Hari-Hara Cult. The *Ayudha* of the temple is a trident and half hidden disc. The extension of this cult was visible in the Jagannath temple at Puri which however, was not completed during the Somavamsi period. It was completed by chodagaugadeva. Thus, Hari-Hara Cult flourished well during the Somavamsi period.

Hari-Hara Cult during the Ganges and after

The imperial Gangas were patrons of Vaishnavism. Although Chodagangadeva was a Saiva in his initial stage, he showed his love for Vaishnavism and completed the temple of Jagannath at Puri. The Markandesvara inscription records the endowment given by Chodagangadeva to this temple. His area made endowment to Muktesvara temple at Krishnagiri and the temple of Bhimesvara at Draksharam. There were other Siva temples like Sobhanesvara and Meghesvara were built. During the Gajapati rule, one finds the Hari-Hara Cult prevailing Sauale Das in his Oriya *Mahabharata* has described Balabhadra as Siva.

Thus, Hari-Hara Cult is very popular in the nook and corner of Orissa. From the early Gangas, this cult originated and grew in this land. Even to-day Hari-Hara Cult is very popular among the people of Orissa.

NATHA CULT

The Natha Cult has gone a long way in playing its role in the domain of the religious history of Orissa. The Natha Cult owes its origin to the practice of Yoga. Yoga is related to Saivism as God Siva was a great practicioner of Yoga or meditation. In due course of time this Natha Cult entered into Orissa and it was associated with Saivism, tantric Buddhism and even Vaishnavism.

Origin of Nath Cult Matsyendranath

The origin of the Natha Cult is shrounded in mystery. As per the saying Guru Mastyendranath was the originator of this cult. Regarding his birth, there is a peculiar story. Once siva with Parvati sitting on the bull was flying in heaven. While listening from Siva about the evolution of earth Parvati became emotional and tears rolled down from her eyes and fell in the Ocean. A fish shallowed some tear-drops and swam in the water. When he reached the sea-shore he was transformed into a man. This man was known as Matsyend ranath and saing the glory of Siva. He travelled throughout India including Orissa and preached the glory of Siva. He was frantically in need of a disciple who would help him in his mission. Whatever the fact might be, one thing is sure that Matsyendranath was a Saivacharya who was instrumental in spreading the Natha Cult in India.

Gorekhnath

Guru Matsyendranath was in search of a disciple. He listened to the Divine voice that he would get his disciple in Kathakota village (present Kerkera in the Jagatsingpur district of Orissa). Matsyendranath became happy and reached Kathakota. She reached the hould of a woman haned Saraswati and asked her to give him some food. Saraswati expressed her inability and told that how she was tortured by her mother-in-law. Matsyendranath gave her some ash and advised help take it because it would give her a son who would be the incarnatian of Siva. He would come to meet the boy after twelve years. After the departure of Matsyendranath, the lady told about it to hari-in-law who advised her to throw the ash into the cow-dung heaps saying that the sage was a mad man. Sarawati did it. After twelve years Matsyandranath returned and asked about the boy. Saraswati told him every thing what had happened in the past. Matslgendranath then went and started disging round the dungs. After digging of some layers he found a boy covered with thounands of shakes. The boy was named as Baba Gorekhnath means, a man born from cow dung. Matsyendranath took the child along with him as per his prophesy.

Gorekhanath was educated under the guidance of Matsyendranath. He was instructed to preach the name of Shiva throughout the country. In due carse of time Buddhism also misgled with this Natha Cult. The Padmapani statue of Matsyadranath is worshipped even to-day in siddhachal Mrigasthali hear Kathamandu. In this place Gorekhanath meditared for twelve years to see his colabrated Guru Matsyend ranath to put an end to ceasing of rain and drought in Nepal for twelve years. The Guru had to come from Potala of Tibet and met his disciple. Right from that time Siddhachal Mrigasthali has been regarded as one of the holiest shrines of the Natha Cult.

Natha Cult at Derabis

The Natha Matha in Derabis-Rajnagar forest of the present Kendrapara district has presedved the memory of Matsyendranath. It reveals the union of Buddhism with Natha Cult. In the Matha, the statue of Matsyendranath is found in a sitting posture on a lotus with *Jata Mukuta* on the head encireled by Rudraksha. The statue has sacred thread, *Kamandalu* and begging bowl at the feet. Near the statue there is a small statue of Buddha sitting in *Dhyana Mudra* on a lotus. Five lines of inscription run from right to left keeping the statue in the middle. The lines are—

"Ye Dharma Hetuprabhaba
Tesamch Yo Nirodha
Evam Vadi Mahashramanah"

This undoubtedly shows the Buddhist influence on the Natha Cult. The inscription is in the Kutila Lipi which had been in use in Orissa before the present Oriya Lipi came into being.

The Natha Siddhacharyas

Towards the 9th century A.D., the Natha Cult had become very popular in Orissa. It has assimilated the Buddhist elements in it. The People of rural area in Orissa largely respected this cult. Most of the Natha Siddhacharyas of Orissa including Kanhupa, Lue-pa, Bhusuka-Pa and Sahari-Pa have been included in the 84 siddhacharyas of the Buddhist Jaina and Natha Cult. Their composition and simple style had influenced the people. Their philosophy was widely accepted by the common people. In *Thka Govindachandra*, it has been stated—

"Bhaja Kina Ram namare Gobinda
Bhaja Kina Rama Nama
Bhaji na Parile Kulachandramare
Nandhineba Kal Yama
Sehi Kal Yama ede Parunare
Najanai Dukha Sukha
Bachhi neba Kancha rakhiba Pachila
Debati Daruna Dukha"

It means—

"O Gobinda (the prince) take the name of Rama. If you cannot take the name of Rama properly, you will be taken away by Yama (the God of death). That cruel Yama is very harsh. He does not known what is happiness and sorrow. That is why he taken away the unriped (young) and leave here the riped ones (old) to syffer."

Even to-day the Yogis who come to different villages for begging sing this song of the Natha Yogis.

Gorekhanath temple at Kerkera

The Gorekhanath temple at Kerkera in the present Jagatsingpur district nears the memory of Gorekhanath. It is a *Rekha diula*. The figure of a big snake is found at the top of the temple. The *Khapuri*, *Amala* and *Beki* are auite distiuct. The temple has 64 chambers. These are four small temples attached to it. There are 8 figures of the Natha Yogis at the second middle portion of the temple. They are Sri Dhrumilanarayana, Nhartruharinath, Matsyendranath, Jwalendranath, Prabhudhanarayan Kapinath, Chamasanarayana, Revananath and Gorekhnath. Infact these 8 Yogis were instrumental in sprcading Natha religion in the nook and corner of Orissa. The temple walls bear the figures of the Gods and Goddess of the Brahmanic Pantheon.

The Samadhi of Matsyendranath

Inside the temple complex at Kerkera, the *Samadhi* or burial of Baba. Matsyendranath is found. The surrounding of this burial is very neat and clean. As stated eqrlier, he was the Guru of Baba Gorekhnath. It is believed that Matsyendranath was the incarnation of God Siva. Even to-day people visit that Samadhi to get boon. This place is an important part of the temple complex.

Other thighs of Gorekhnath Temple Complex

There are other important things inside the Gorekhanath temple complex. There is a sacred banyan tree inside the complex known as *Kalpavrikshya* or *Batavrikshya*. It is said that under this tree Gorekhanath was performing the *Mrutyunjaya Upasana*. The devotees keep their desire or *Manasika* by tieing red clothes (*Dhittas*) on the branches of this tree. Another important thing inside the temple is the *Yoga Mandapa* where *Yojnas* take place regularly. The Great Pond or *Chandana Pokhari* is situated on the northern side of the temple. The devotees take their sacred both here and feel themselves holy and pure. There is *Akhaudadhuni* or never euding fire inside the temple complex. People believe that the *Bibhuti* (ash) of this fire is very sacred. It is believed that if any man or cattle is bitten by any poisonous snake, the life of that affected man or cattle can be saved by taking this *Bibhuti*.

Natha Cult— Asynthetic faity

The Natha Cult is a synthetic faith. It originated for saivism. In due cause of time Jainism and Buddhism mingled in it. The 84 siddhacharyas are included in the Jaina and Buddhist faiths. Further, the Orissan Viashnavism is a compound of *Yoga*, *Jnana* and *Bhakti*. It obsorbed in it the Natha Cult. Thus, the amalgamation of different religious faiths gave Natha Cult a new tinge which influenead the religious faith of the people of Orissa from 8th century to 18th century.

Influence of Natha Cult on Oriya Literature

The Natha Siddhas are regarded as the originators of Oriya language and literature. Some Charya Gitikas of the Natha Siddhas, *Sisuveda* named after Gorekhnath and *Tika Govindachandra* are regarded as the oldest specimens of Oriya ligerature. From 8th Century to 18th Century the Natha Cult had influenced the Oriya language and literature which cast its spell on the spiritual, philosophical and cultural life of the people of Orissa.

Thus, the Natha Cult was very popular in Orissa owing to its simple thinking. It was liked by the people. The element of Yoga was involved in it which gave it a new dimansion. The Natha Cult has left its indellible marks in the religious life of Orissa.

JAGANNATH CONSCIOUSNESS

Inspite of the progress of science and technology, literature and philosophy, God Jagannath remains always a puzzle to the people of the world at large. The origin of Jagannath cult is shrouded in mystery. The veil of darkness that pervades over this cult has not been lifted till today. However, God Jagannath has been accepted as the representative of the Oriya people, an embodiment of love, a guiding force behind the cultural heritage of this land, a synthesis of all the Hinduite faiths and finally, as the God of the universe. The majestic temple of God Jagannath at Puri has allured the attention of the people all over the world.

Jagannath and tribal Origin

In attempting a historiographical analysis or the cult of Jagannath, it can be stated that God Jagannath had a tribal origin. Whether, this tribal origin of God Jagannath is pre-Vedic, it is difficult to ascertain. As per the description of Sarala's *Mahabharata,* God Krishna, killed by the arrow of Jara *Savara*, was not burnt in wood fully after his death. As per the order of the divine voice, Arjuna and Jara threw the half-burnt body into the sea and that body was, later on, worshipped by Jara in the Dhauli hill at Bhubaneswar. In the mean while, Galamadhava, the king of Kanchi knowing about the death of Krishna, sent a Brahmin named Vasudeva to collect the body who located it in Bhubaneswar and transferred it to Nilachala. By that time, king Indradyumna had constructed a temple at Nilachala and by divine order, the king proceeded to that place. With the help of Jara, he brought the *daru* (wood) from Rohini *kunda* and installed the image inside the temple at Nilachala. Due to his folly, the images of God Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra were found incomplete as he opened the door of the temple defying the request of the sculpture (Bisvakarma in disguise) who had instructed the king not to open the door before the expiry of fifteen days.

The story revealing the tribal origin of God Jagannath is different in the *Skanda Purana*. The *Purusottama Mahatmya* section of that *Purana* narrates that the original place of worship of Nilamadhava (God Jagannath) was at *Nila Saila* (blue mountain) amidst a thick forest. In a dream, king Indradyumna of Avanti saw it and sent Vidyapati, a Brahmin to bring the God. Vidyapati married Lalita, the daughter of the tribal chief Visvavasu. After much persuation of his daughter, Visvavasu took his son-in-law for the visit of Nilamadhava. While going to that place with his eyes covered, Vidyapati, cleverly threw the mustard seeds on the way. In the rainy season, the seeds germinated which clearly indicated the way to the place of worship of Nilamadhava. Vidyapati informed this to king Indradyumna who went to pays visit to the God. To his utter dismay, the God had vanished from that place. The king dreamt that a sacred tree was coming from *Svetadvipa* where lied God Vishnu. In the next morning, he was informed that a log containing the signs of God Vishnu was found on the sea-shore. The king rushed to the sea-shore immediately and the log was brought with much rejoicement. Out of the log, four images i,e. Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarsana were made and installed in the temple constructed at *nila saila* (Puri). Though this fact is narrated differently in the *Deula Tola* of poet Nilambara Das and the work of the same name of Sisu Krishna Das, the fact remains the same that God Jagannath had a tribal origin which has been accepted by many notable scholars like B.M. Padhi, G.C. Tripathy, H. Kulke and A. Eschmann. Further, the association of the *sevakas* of God Jagannath in Puri bear the name *Daitas*. The *Vanayaga* before the search of *Daru* for *Navakalevara* of the God also speaks of the tribal origin of God Jagannath. The three tribal deities like Jaleri Penu, Tana Penu and Murani Penu, worshipped by the Khonds of Orissa are regarded as Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra respectively.

Vedic origin of Jagannath

Scholars trace the Vedic origin of God Jagannath. The 3rd verse of the 155th *Sukta* in the 10th *Mandala* of *Rig Veda* states :

> "There is a log floating on the sea and no one claims this as his property. O' ugly evil spirit, ride on that and remove yourself to the other side of the ocean."

Sayana, a 15th century commentator interprets the above quoted *sukta* as such :

> "O, you are difficult to destroy, take resource to the (sacred) log of wood which has no creator and which exists on the far distant sea coast, and achieve your salvation by the object."

Through the above mentioned *Sukta* and its interpretation given by Sayana, the Vedic origin of God Jagannath is traced by several scholars. As, primarily, the cult of Jagannath is associated with tribal origin, which is non-Aryan in character, the Aryans might be aware about it and might have reflected that in a different way in the *Rig Veda*. This definitely gives a clue to the scholars to think the prevalence of the worship of Jagannath in a *daru* (log) from long before the Vedic age. However, this is controversial.

Jagannath and Jainism

The Jaina origin of God Jagannath is traced by several scholars. As a heterodox religion, Jainism gave a great challange to Vedic religion. It has already been discussed earlier that before 6th century B.C., Jainism had entered into Orissa. It received royal patronage from Kharavela, the mighty monarch of the Chedi dynasty. Jainism gained momentum in the nook and corner of Orissa. The numerous Jaina monuments of Orissa amply justify the fact. Owing to the popularity of Jainism in Orissa, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannath have been regarded as the three cardinal principles of Jainism like *Samyak Jnana, Samyak Charitra* and *Samyak Drishti* by N. K. Das. The concept of *Kalpa* tree in Jainism is regarded as the *Kalpavata* inside the sacred complex of God Jagannath temple at Puri. *Kaivalya Mukti,* one of the tenets of Jainism is identified with the *Kaivalya* (*Mahaprasada*) of Lord Jagannath that offers salvation to man. Further, B.M. Padhi tends to locate *Vaddha Managala* and *Nandipada*, the two Jaina symbols in the image of God Jagannath that give scope to presume the Jaina origin of the deity. However, these facts did not conclusively prove that Jagannath had a Jaina Origin. The principle of Kaivalya Mukti or salvation of Jainism is found in other religious faiths too. Similarly, *Kalpavatas* are worshipped in different parts of India.

Jagannath and Buddhism

The Buddhist origin of God Jagannath has also been advocated by scholars. Right from the days of God Buddha, Buddhism had entered into Orissa and Asoka championed its cause in this land. As Buddhism flourished in Orissa, as discussed earlier, scholars tend to identify the Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Samgha* with the three images in the temple of God Jagannath. The *Ratha Yatra* of God Jagannath is similar with that of the Buddha. Poet Jayadeva accepts Buddha as the 9th incarnation of Vishnu in his famous *Gita Govinda* as such :

Nindasi Yajnavidherahaha srutijatam
Sadaya hridaya darshita Pashughatam
Kesava dhrita Buddha sharira
Jaya Jagadisha Hare.

King Indrabhuti, as discussed earlier, accepts God Buddha as Jagannath. As Buddhism wipes out caste distinction, similarly, there is no caste bar inside the temple of God Jagannath. The image of Buddha at Ellora is known as Jagannath till to-day. Thus with these similarities of Buddhism with the cult of Jagannath, the Buddhist origin of the God is inferred. However, these arguments are not based on sound-footing.

The Saiva-Tantric origin of Jagannath

The Saivite Tantric origin of God Jagannath is emphasised by some scholars. H. V. Stietencorn opines that the predominance of Saivism in the religious firmament of Orissa over three or four centuries influenced a lot for the growth of Jagannath cult. He relates the worship of Siva in his fierce aspect or Bhairava form and the sculptural representation of *Ekapada* Bhairava in different temple walls brings a striking similarity with the image of God Jagannath. In the *Purusottama Mahatmya* great importance has been attached to the worship of God Siva which suggests that Saivism had influenced the cult of Jagannath. The existence of Siva temples inside the premises of Jagannath temple at Puri is a pointer in this direction. In his Oriya *Mahabharata,* poet Sarala Dasa has represented Balabhadra as Siva. Inspite of scholarly attempts to prove the Saivite origin of God Jagannath, it can be stated that the influence of Saivism on the cult of Jagannath is a later development, obviously in the 9th century A.D. and more particularly, in the 15th century A.D. The tantric form of worship associated with Buddhism, Saivism and Saktism also provides clues to prove the tantric origin of Jagannath.

Jagannath and Saktism

The Sakta origin of Jagannath is traced by scholars. Goddess Vimala occupies a dominant position inside the temple of God Jagannath. The rice offering in the temple becomes *Mahaprasada* only after it is offered before Vimala. This shows the Sakta influence on the cult of Jagannath. Further, the search of *Daru* for the *Navakalevara* of the deities of the temple of God Jagannath temple of Puri begins only after the worship of Goddess Mangala at Kakatpur and obtaining her divine order which suggests the Sakta influence on Jagannath Cult.

Jagannath and Vaishnavism

The Vaishnavite origin of the Jagannath cult is trace by some scholars. The *Purusottama Mahatmya* projects God Jagannath as Narayana, Krishna-Vasudeva, Buddha etc. Poet Jayadeva, as stated earlier, had popularised Vaisnavism in Orissa through his immortal creation *Gita Govinda*. Further, during the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule, particularly, during Prataparudradeva, the visit of Srichaitanya and his intimate association with the temple of God Jagannath made Vaisnavism popular in Orissa. Several festivals associated with Krishna cult like *Krishna Janma, Nandotsava, Kaliyadalana, Kamsavadha, Vakasuravadha, Chandana Yatra* etc. were intimately associated with the festivals of the temple of God Jagannath as are being celebrated till now. No doubt, Vaisnavism was more intimately associated with the Cult of God Jagannath in comparison to any other religion. Though the origin of Jagannath cannot be traced satisfactorily, one thing is certain that in the Cult, the assimilation of tribal element, Vedic religion, Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, Saktism, tantric elements,Vaisnavism, is found.

Jagannath and Sikhism

It is told that Sikhism has relation with Jagannath. The Mangu Math of Puri bears its memory. That math has the photograph of Guru Nanak. The Sikhs believe that Guru Nanak has visited Puri. The future research will provide more fact on this.

Jagannath and Islam

Jagannath was regarded as sacred by the Muslims of Orissa. Yavana Salabega had give importance to him. He had composed many *Bhajans* for Jagannath. Those Bhajans are very popular in the nook and corner of Orissa even today.

Popularity of Jagannath

As discussed earlier, Yayati I, the great Somavamsi king is supposed to have started the construction work of the temple of God Jagannath at Puri. Perhaps, during the period of the Somavamsis, the worship of God Jagannath was given a special attention. The play *Anargharaghava* of Murari Mishra of 9th century A.D. refers to the worship of God Purusottama (Jagannath) on the sea-shore. Similarly, the *Tantra Yamala* (10th century A D.) and the *Kalki purana* (11th century A.D.) refer to God Jagannath as the venerated deity of this land. During the glorious days of the imperial Gangas from 12th century A.D. to 16th century A.D., the worship of God Jagannath was given due patronage.The mighty rulers of this dynasty like Chodagangadeva, Anangabhimadeva III and Narasimhadeva I were ardent worshippers of God Jagannath and they stated in different inscription their longing to the God. During the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule, the power and prestige of God

Jagannath were enhanced by the rulers of this dynasty. Its impact on the people of Orissa was so much so that, they even did not oppose the enthroment of Purusottamadeva, when the legitimate claim of Hamvira was thrown aside by Kapilendradeva who justified his action as it was the divine will of God Jagannath and thus, kept his subjects mum. In the Kanchi-Kaveri legend Jagannath and Balabhadra exhibited their martial spirit by defeating the king of Kanchi. The reign period of Prataparudradeva witnessed the growing popularity of God Jagannath as reflected in the *Pancha Sakha* literature. The visit of Sri Chaitanya to Puri during his reign period popularised the cult of God Jagannath in the nook and corner of Orissa. His efforts made the people of Orissa a blind follower of God Jagannath. During the reign period of the Bhoi dynasty, adequate attention was given for the temple rituals and looking after the comforts and safety of the pilgrims who came to this land from different parts of the country. The ardent devotion of king Ramachandradeva in keeping Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra out of the touch of the Muslims, shows the great devotion of the king and people of this land towards the Cult of God Jagannath. Even today, the *Chhera Pahanra* by the Gajapati king of Orissa, in front of the Gods during *Ratha Yatra* in the presence of hundreds and thousands of devotees, proved the popularity of this cult not only in Orissa but also in different parts of the country and abroad. Thus, the prevalent religious trends in Orissa assimilated in the Cult of God Jagannath in due course of time.

As discussed earlier, all the religious sects, with the gradual march of time, mingled in the cult of Jagannath. Every Hindu Pantheon saw its god or goddess in Him. Even to-day, Jagannath, the 'Lord of the Universe' is honoured and worshipped by the followers of different religious sects in India. Thus, it is chanted :

Yam Saivah samupasate Siva iti
Brahmeti Vedantinah
Bauddha Buddha iti Pramana Patavah
Kartteti Naiyayikah
Arhanityatha Jainashasanaratah
Karmeti Mimamsakah
So-ayam bho Vidadhatu Vanchhita Phalam
Trailokyanatho Harih.

(O God ! the Saivas worship you as Siva; the Vedantins as *Brahma*; the Buddhists as Buddha; the Jainas as Arhat and the Mimansakas as *Karma*. O, Lord of the "Three Worlds' (Jagannath) ! fulfill the desire of the people).

WORSHIP OF SURYA (SUN GOD)

Sun worship is very famous in Orissa. The presence of numerous Sun temples of Orissa bear ample testimony to this fact. It is not known exactly when the worship of sun began in Orissa. However, in due course of time it gained popularity and even retains it today.

Sun God in Ananta Gumpha

The worship of Sun God or *Surya* was also quite popular among the people of Orissa. The Anantagumpha of Khandagiri in Bhubaneswar depicts the image of Surya riding a *ratha* drawn by four horses and he is attended by two consorts.This proves that Sun worship was prevalent in Orissa around 1st century B.C. During a long march of time, from 1st century B.C. till 13th century A.D., the Sun worship was not so distinct in this land.

Narasimhadeva I and Sun worship

During Narasimhadeva I, the mighty imperial Ganga King of Orissa, the Sun worship was given royal patronage. The magnificent Sun temple at Konarka, built by this illustrious ruler, marked the perfaction of the Kalingan style of art. By building this temple he gave vent to the sun worship in Orissa.

The Sun Temple of Konarka

As discussed earlier, the temple of Konarka consisted of a *deula* (sanctam) with a *Vimana* (curvilinear spire, which is lost now) and *Jagamohana* (Porch). The twenty-four wheels carved on the sides of the high berm represent the twenty-four hours of a day and the seven spirited horses represent the seven days of a week. The chlorite images of Sun God as *Parsvadevatas* are quite distinct. The *Navagraha* sculpture of the temple is another distinct feature that projects Surya, first in the realm, thereby revealing his imoportance among the nine planets.

Other Sun temples of Orissa

Besides the Sun temple of Konarka, the Surya images are found at Soro, Khiching, Palia, Baguda and Paikmal. With the gradual march of time, the Surya worship mingled in Vaisnavism. The temples of Biranchi-Narayana at Buguda and Palia are bright examples of Surya-worship. Similarly, the temple of Nrusimhanath at Paikmal is another example of Surya-Narasimha worship. Gradually, the Sun worship was assimilated in the cult of Lord Jagannath. The installation of *Aruna Stambha* in front of the temple of God Jagannath and the existence of the temple of Dharmaraja or Surya on the north-eastern side of the Laxmi temple are clear examples bearing the influence of Sun worship on the Cult of Jagannath.

The sun worship in Orissa has gained popularity out and out. The *Rabinarayana Brata* and *Samba Dasami* are how being observed through out Orissa. The *sloka* in honour of Sun god is charted as such :

Udayagirimupetam Bhaskaram Padmahastam
Sakala bhubana netram Divya ratnopameyam
Timira Karisthagend ram Bodhakam Padminisam
Surabaramabhi Vandhyam Sundaram Visvavandhyam.

●

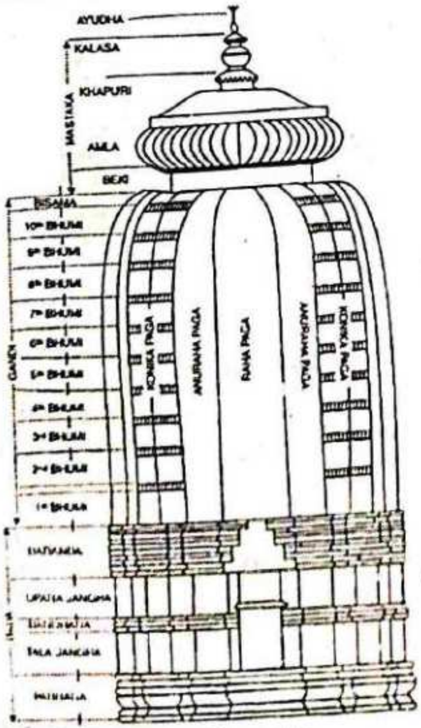
Chapter – 17

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Art and architecture are regarded as hallmarks of a nation.The art and architecture of Orissa in its formative phase took a new turn. The style was so elegant, balanced and beautiful that it carved a new identity for itself. This was famous as Kalinga School of art. Here is a description on some unique temples of Orissa.

Types of Temple in Orissa

From Silpa-sastras of Orissa, it is known that three types of temples existed in Orissa– *Rekha Deula*, *Pidha Deula* and *Khakara Mundis*. The temples of Orissa had four distinct parts like– *Pista* (platform), *Bada* (perpendicular wall), *Gandi* (portion from ground to neck) and *Mastaka* (crowning element). *Pista* means foundation. *Bada* consists of *Pabhaga*, *Jangha* and *Varanda*. *Gandi* is divided into several *Pagas* (segments) such as *Rahapaga*, *Anurahapaga* and *Kanikapaga*. The *Mastaka* (Head consists of *Beki*, *Amalachakra*, *Khapuri*, *Kalasa* and *Ayudha*. During the Sailodbhaba period Lakshmanesvara, Bharatesvara, Satrughnesvara, Parsuramesvara and Svarnajalesvara temple had been constructed in Bhubaneswar. During the Bhauma-Kara period Sisiresvara, Vaitala (Khakara type) and Markandesvara temples were built. During Somavamsi period Muktesvara, Rajarani, Brahmesvara and Lingaraja temples were built. During Ganga period Jagannath temple and Sun temple were famous. Here is a descriptions of some important temples of Orissa.


AYUDHA
KALASA
KHAPURI
MASTAKA
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BEKI
BISAMA
10th BHUMI
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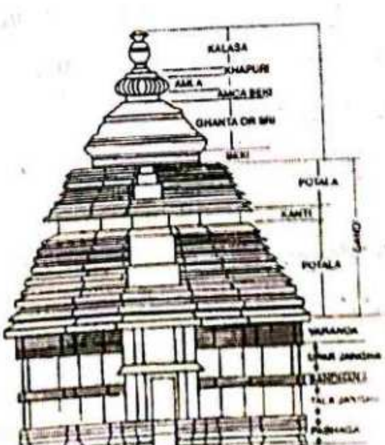
3rd BHUMI
2nd BHUMI
1st BHUMI
GANDI
KONIKA PAGA
ANURAHA PAGA
RAHA PAGA
ANURAHA PAGA
KONIKA PAGA
BARANDA
UPARA JANGHA
BANDHANA
TALA JANGHA
PABHAGA
BADA

Rekha Temple


KALASA
KHAPURI
AMLA
NAGA BEKI
GHANTA OR MU
BEKI
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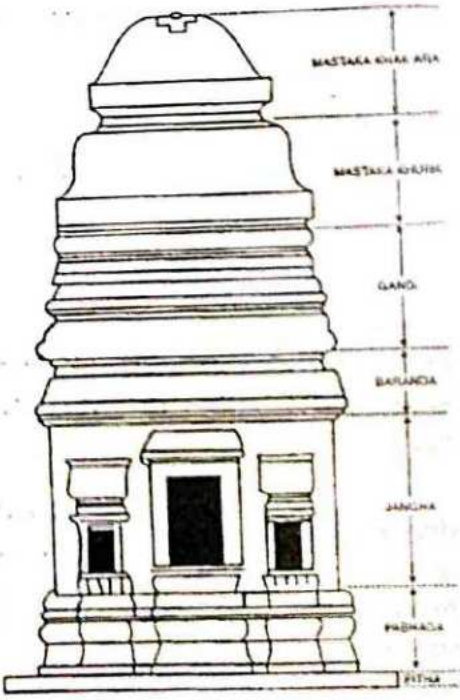
VARANDA
UPAR JANGHA
BANDHANA
TALA JANGHA
PABHAGA

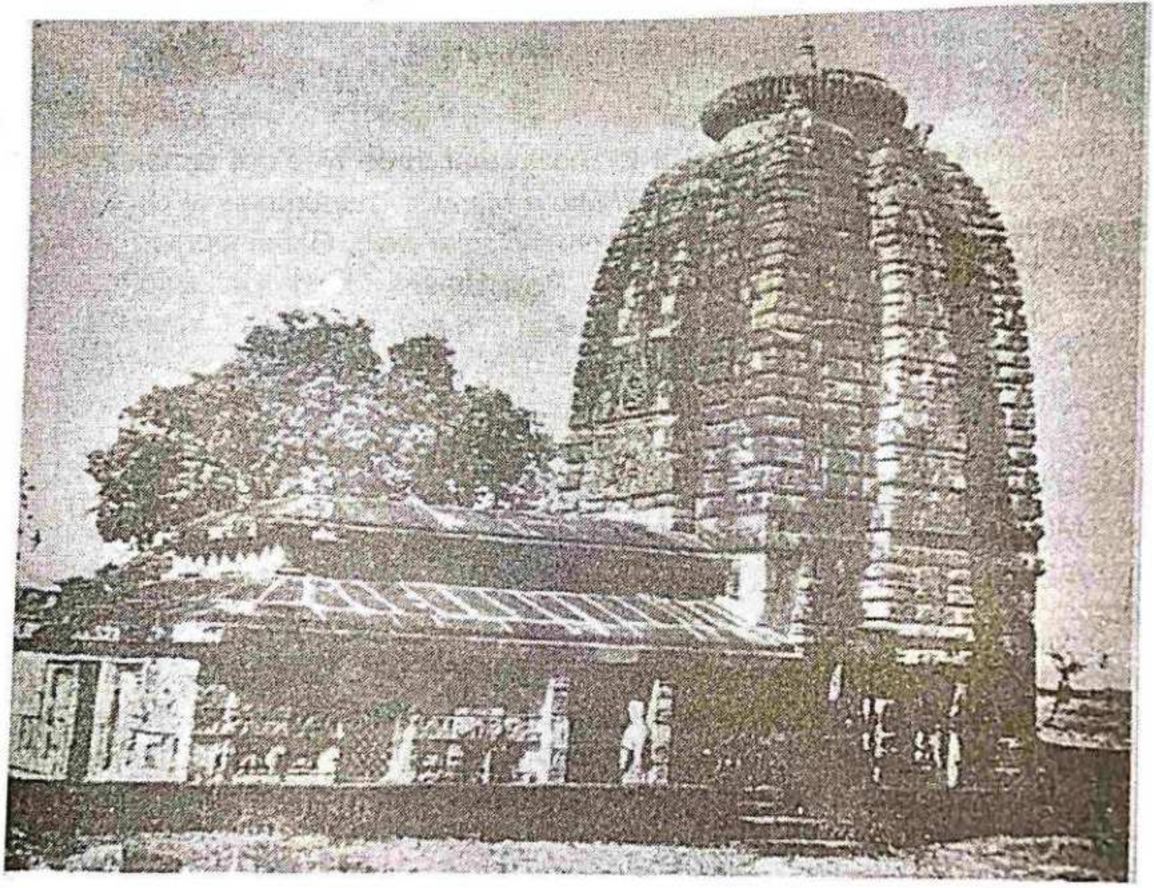
Pidha (Bhadra) Temple


MASTAKA
MASTAKA
GANDI
BARANDA
JANGHA
PABHAGA
PITHA

Khakara Temple

Parsuramesvara Temple

The Parsuramesvara temple of Bhubaneswar belongs to the 7th century A.D. Although it is *tri-ratha* in plan an the *Bada* but the *Gandi* projects the *Pancharatha* style. The *pagas* (pilasters) which constitute the special feature of the Orissa an temple archifecture were not fully developed in this temple. Each of the three pilaster contains a niche. The central pilaster contains the highest number of niches and the two othg contain equal number of niches. Tesre are all together eleven niches in this temple. A sunker pamel of an orous couples are found between the cube and uarvilinear tower. The *sikhara* portion contains an *amalaka* a *kalasi* and a *lingam* instead of *Ayudha*. This is a peculiar feature of the Parasuramesvara temple of Orissa.



The Parsuramesvara Temple

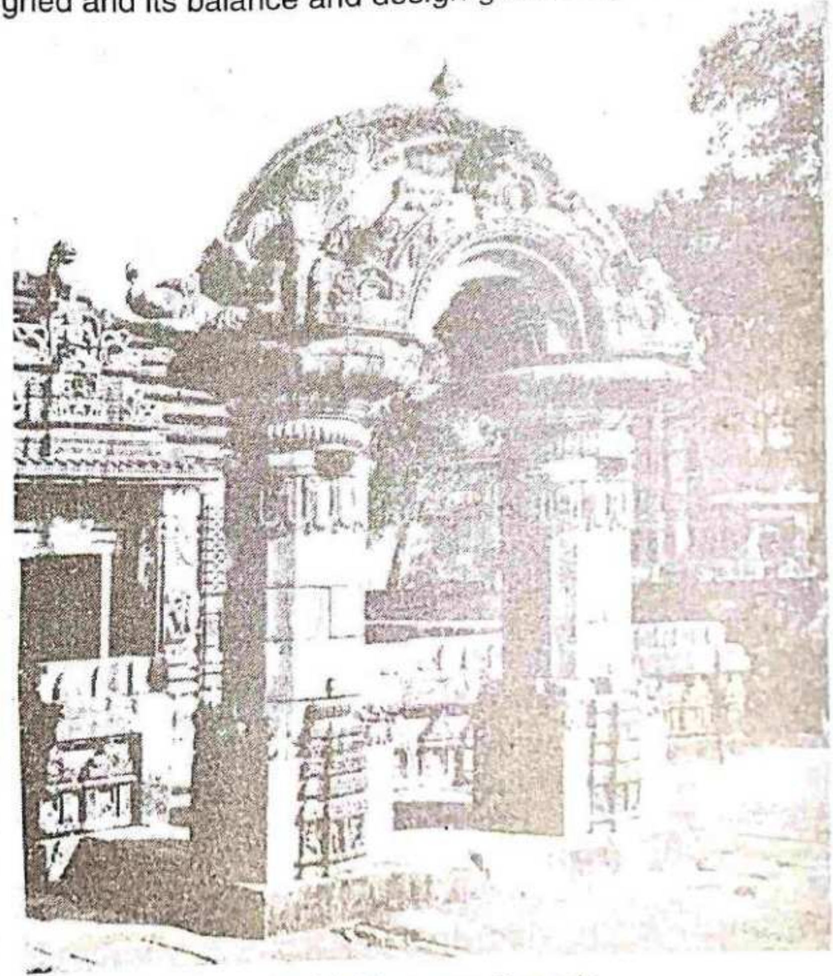
The *Jagamohana* or *Muklasala* made its appearance first in the temple of Parasuramesvara. It is rectangular having skylight between two sloping tires of terraced roof. The roof is supported by two rows of three pillars on each side and the roof is supported by the two side-walls. The addition of the porch-hall to the main shrine reflects the second step in the evolution of temple architecture in Orissa.

The Parsuramesvara temple reflects other architechiral peculiarities. It has two doors and four windows placed irregularly in the *Mukhasala*. One Dar in on the south side and the other is an the west wall. It faces the sanctuary. The windows of north and south help in the ventilation. The windows on each side of the west dar contain figures of musicious and dancers.

The walls of the parch and shrine are carved with various sculptures scrolls, creepers, human and animal figures and stories from mythology are found as decorative motif of the temple. Although the carvings are crude and coarse but the figures look lively and natural. Simplicity and elegance were the hallmarks of such sculptures. Even today these sculptures are unparalled in the history of temple architechure of Orissa.

Muktesvara Temple

The Muktesvara temple is a novelty in the field of Orissan temple architechure. It was so elegantly disigned that it became one of the most beautiful temples of India. The gate of the temple was well designed and its balance and design give it a grandoise look.



The Muktesvara Temple

The *Vimana* stands on a raised platform. It is square in ground plan. The base has its five divisions such as *Pada, Kumbha, Pata, Kani* and *Vasanta*. These five divisions were absent it eqrlier divisions of temple. The pilasters have recesses which contain *Gaja Simha* and *Naga* columns. Here in this temple, the niches are empty and have no *Parsvadevatas* (side deities).

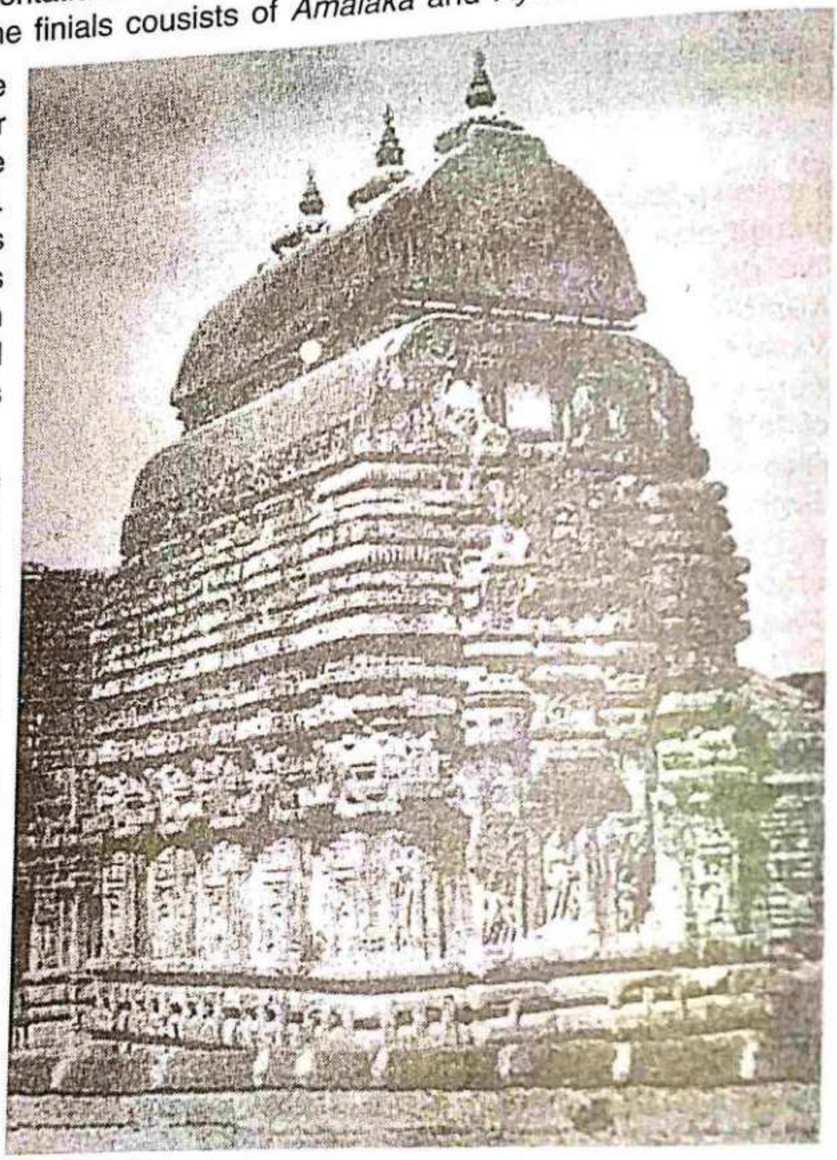
The *Sikhara* is short. It has four *Natarajas* and four *Kirtti-mukhas* on four facades. The *Nataraja* figure from the western facade has been detached and kept inside a miniature temple inside the same temple premises. It has no*Anga-sikhara* (replica of the main tower).

The ground plan as the *Jagamohana* of the Muktesvara temple is just like a star. The steps of the pyramidal roof recede when it ascends. The temple has on *amalaka*. The *Badas* on the northern and southern sides have pilasters and each of them contains a square-shaped perforated window. The portious of the roof above the windows rise in two tires with the steps (pidhas) and are surmounted by images of lions. The recesses between the pilasters contain the figures of *Gaja-simha* and Naga-columns.

The *Torana* (gate) is a unique fealure of the temple of Mhktesvara. It stands before the *Jagamohana*. The basement of the pillars contain an each face a miniature shrine having a tuin *Gaja-simha* figures at the top. Each of the sixteen-sided shafts consists of four blocks of stone and at their top appear *Kirtti-mukhas*. The top most block has imposed *Vedika, Amalaka* and a spreading lotus capital on both the sides a pair of female figures with graceful pose are found. Each arch has a projecting *Makara-mukha* which is auite distinct in the *Torana* of Muktesvara.

Vaitala Temple

The Vaitala temple (c. A.D. 775) of Bhubaneswar in a typical temple architecture. It represents the perfact presentation of the *Khakhara* type of architecture. Although it represents a *ratha* type but the finials cousists of *Amalaka* and *Ayudha*.



The Vaitala Temple

The plan of the temple is different. It stands on a lower platform. Scroll mouldings are found at the lower basement. Except the west on all the sides of the temple rectangular niches occur on the walls in the form of window. Between *Bada* and *Mastaka* erotic sculptures occur.

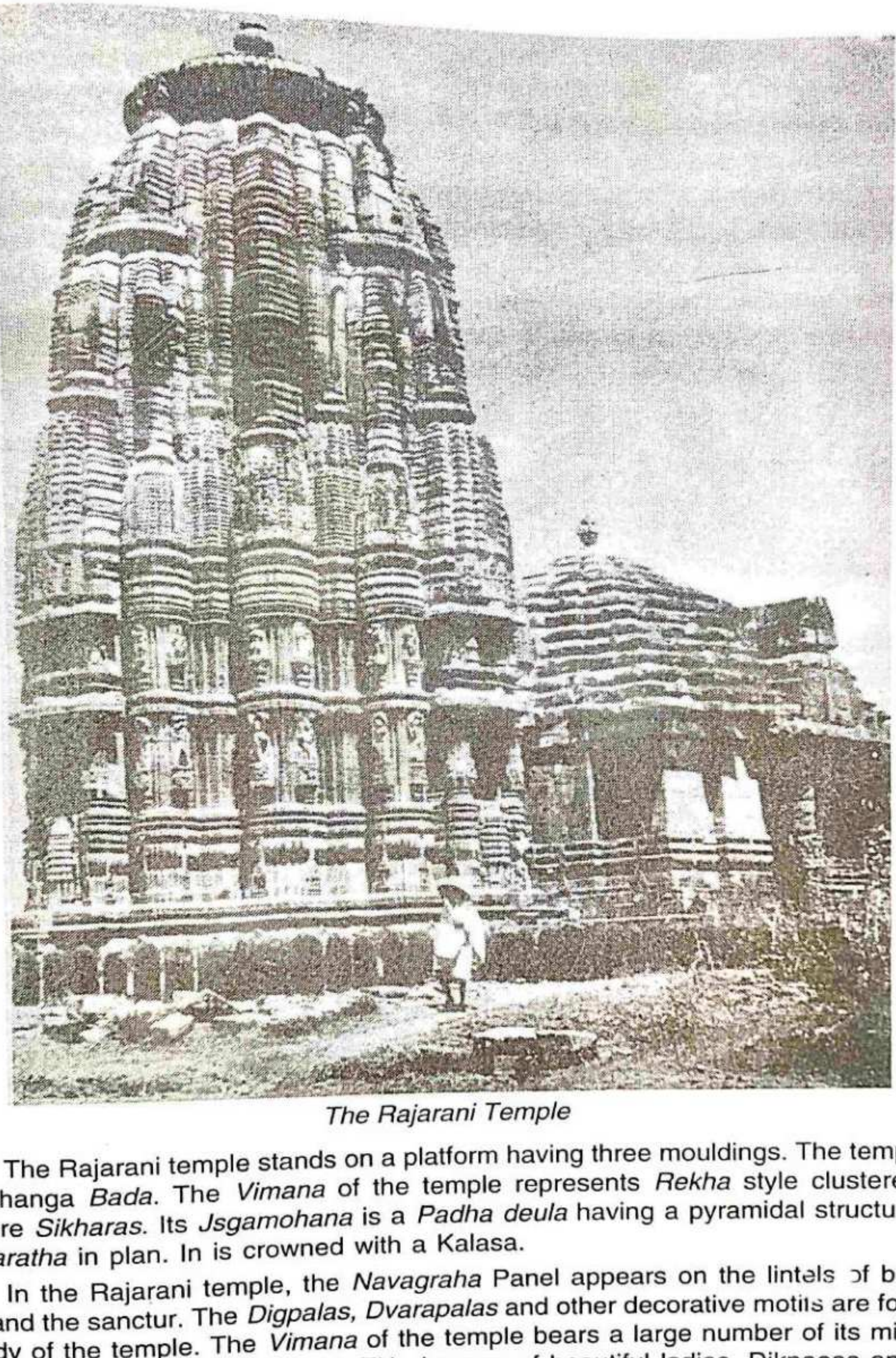
The *Jagamohana* of the vaitala temple is rectangular on its four corners are placed the replicas of the *Sikhara* type of temple. The *Jagamohana* has no pillar, grill or window. There are fifteen sculptures in the *Jagamohana*.

The inner sancture of Vaitala temple has a eight-armed chamunda figure was in the presiding deity. She is surrounded by other sik *Matrika* figure like Brahmane; Mahesvar; Kauman; Vaishnavi; Varahi and Aindri. The image of Virabhadra is also found associated with the Matrika figures.

Historians presume that the vaitcla temple was meant for the practice of Tantric rituals. Unusually, the inside of the temple is dark in comparism to other temples. Perhaps, some esoteric practices were going on inside the temple. In every way, Vaitala temple was departure from the traditional style of the Kalingan Schwl of Painting.

Rajarani Temple

The Rajarani temple (A.D. 1000-1022) in Bhubaneswar is a splendur in Orissan art. Some historious think that its name was Indresvara or Indralingesvara as perthe name of its bzilder Indraratha, an illustrious somavamsi ruler. This temple has no presiding deity at present and it is famous as a temple having no deity.



The Rajarani Temple

The Rajarani temple stands on a platform having three mouldings. The temple has a punchanga *Bada*. The *Vimana* of the temple represents *Rekha* style clustered with miniature *Sikharas*. Its *Jsgamohana* is a *Padha deula* having a pyramidal structure. It is *Pancharatha* in plan. In is crowned with a Kalasa.

In the Rajarani temple, the *Navagraha* Panel appears on the lintels of both the purch and the sanctur. The *Digpalas, Dvarapalas* and other decorative motifs are found on the body of the temple. The *Vimana* of the temple bears a large number of its miniature prototype called as *Anger-sikharas*. THe images of beautiful ladies, Dikpaeas and shall images in alto-relievo of the vimana add lusture to the temple. Considered from every angle, the Rajarani temple attains perfaction in the Kalingan temple architechure.

Lingaraja Temple

Among all the temples built during the Somavamsi period, the Lingaraja temple of Bhubaneswar deserves special mention. It bears architectural splendour and is regarded as one of the best archaeological monument of the east reflecting *Kalinga* type of architecture with all its perfection. It was constructed between 1025 and 1065 A.D. A gigantic structure of about 180 feet high dominating the entire landscape at Bhubaneswar, the temple stands within a spacious compound of laterite measuring 520 by 465 feet surrounded by a number of smaller temples. The presiding deity of this temple is known as *Tribhubanesvar* (Bhubaneswar) from which the city has derived its name.

The Lingaraja Temple

The majestic Lingaraja temple has a four frontal projected sections such as the *Deula, Jagamohana, Natamandira* and *Bhogamandapa*. It can be stated beyond doubt that the *Natamandira* and *Bhogamandapa* are later additions. The *Vimana* and *Jagamohana* of the Lingaraja temple are wonders for the people in general and art-historians, in particular because it is a surprise that how big pieces of rocks could be lifted to such a great height when modern device was quite unknown in that remote phase of history.

The *Jagamohana* of the Lingaraja temple is decorated with various sculptures. It had also balustrated windows in the north and south, which of course, are closed now. The

Natamandira and the *Bhogamandapa* are open halls. The images of Parvati, Ganesa and Kartikeya appear in the northern, southern and western niches of the sanctuary respectively. The life-size images of the *Parsva-devatas* are made of chlorite. The three distinct Puranic episodes are found on the walls of the sanctuary and of the *Jagamohana*. On the southern door of the *Jagamohana*, the marriage scene of Lord Siva has been depicted where Siva wears the crown of a bride groom but appears perfectly naked. The images of Bhrikuti, Brahma and Parvati are associated with the scene. On the southern facade of the sanctuary, a scene is found where Yasoda churns curd and Srikrishna, as a child, disturbs her. The image of Nanda is also associated with it. The third episode on the western side of the *Vimana* is represented with a simple form of Lord Siva's marriage.

The Lingaraja temple is a *rekha deula* planned in the *Pancharatha* style without a *Pistha* (platform) having *Panchangabada*. The *Varanda* of the temple contains 10 mouldings beautifully carved. The *Janghas* are richly decorated and the lower *Jangha* is ornamented with *Khakaramundis*. The *Mastaka, Khapuri* and *Kalasha* of the temple have been arranged very nicely and *trisul* is the finial in the temple. The beauty of the *deula* and *Mukhasala* is very much artistic in nature. Thus, the Lingaraja temple is architecturally magnificent and it represents the matured kalinga-style of artistic excellence.

The Jagannath temple at Puri

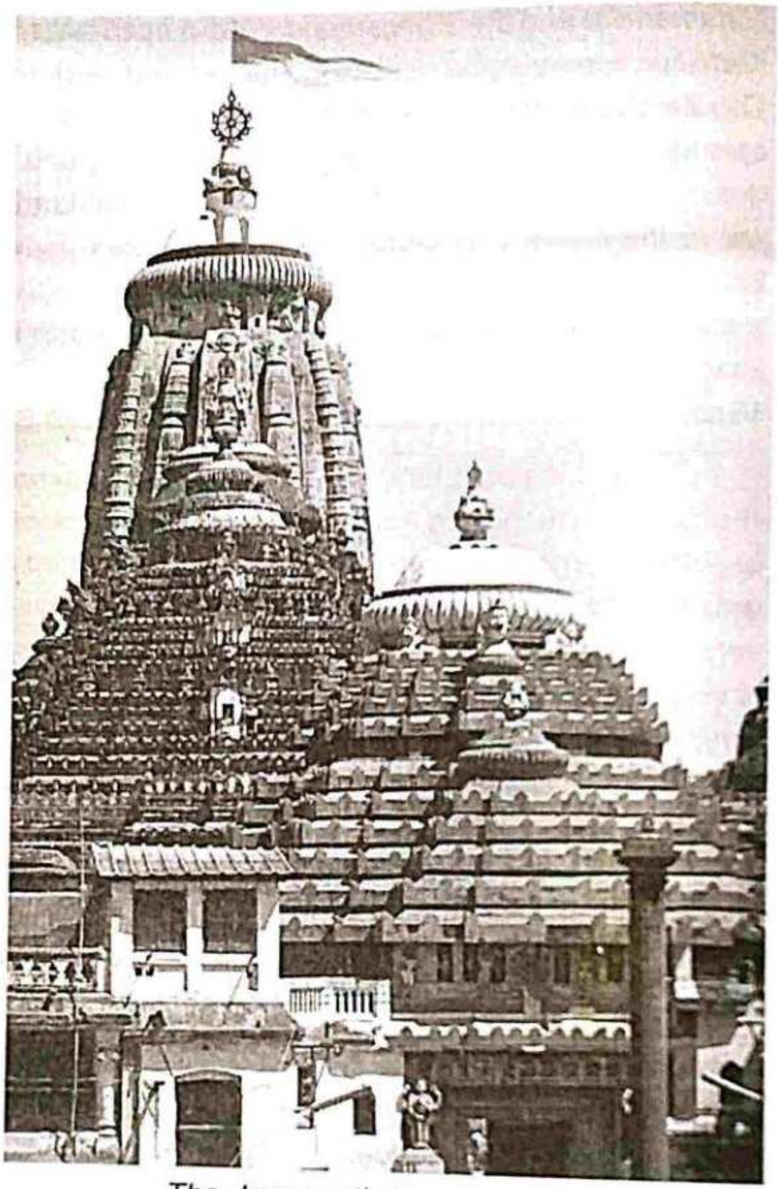
Among all the temples built during the Ganga period, the Jagannath temple at Puri deserves commendation. As stated earlier, Chodagangadeva might not have started the construction of that temple. He probably, extended the work of the Jagannath temple after 1147 A.D. and failed to complete it during his life time as the Dasgoba inscription states that it was constructed in 1198 A.D. which is certainly after the death of Chodagangadeva. The construction of the temple was completed most probably by Anangabhimadeva III. Be that as it may, with the construction of the Jagannath temple, Puri became a great centre of religion and culture not only in Orissa but also outside of it. However, many later additions to this temple were made during the rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis in Orissa.

The Jagannath temple at Puri was the best presentation of the Kalinga style of art. The imposing structure consists of the *Vimana, Jagamohana, Natamandira* and *Bhogamandapa*. The last two structures were, perhaps, constructed during the Suryavamsi Gajapati rule. The *Vimana* of the temple stands at a lofty height of 214 ft. and 8 inches an a square of 80 ft. The heavy plaster of the temple in the exterior prevented the scholars to know about the sculptural decoration of the outer walls. However, the recent removal of plasters from the outer walls of the temple by the Archaeological survey of India brought to light the decorative motif of the temple. The figures in the *Vimana* are the proofs of the developed art of Kalinga. Among those, the figures of *Astadikpala*, lion standing over crouching elephants, the figure of adult Krishna, the procession of horses and elephants, various sociao-cultural scene, erotic panels etc. The *Vimana* has been constructed in a *Pancharatha* plan.

The *Jagamohana* of the temple like that *Vimana*, follows a *Pancharatha* style. The roof of this structure is amply supported by several iron beams. Its outer surface contains some erotic scence. Its height is 120 ft.

The *Natamandira* of the temple is pyramidal in form. It is a square room measuring 69 ft × 67 ft. Inside and the outside measurement of it is a square of 80 ft. The *Natamandira* depicts the story of the Kanchi-Kaveri expedition which most probably found place there during the glorious reign of Gajapati Purusottamadeva.

Like *Natamandira*, the *Bhogamandapa* is a pyramidal structure measuring 58 ft. × 56 ft. The sculptures in this structure depict mainly stories related with Sri Krishna's life like his playing of flute when the cows listen to it with upraised heads, Krishna's various poses, his play with the cowherd women in the boat, Dola yatra etc. The depiction of other deities of Brahmanical pantheon in the *Bhogamandapa* is quite interesting. The scene of *indrasabha*, (the court of Indra) *Rajyavisekha* (investitrue ceremoney) of Ramachandra, God Siva sitting on his bull etc, are depicted marvellously well.



The Jagannath temple at Puri

The entire Jagannath temple is surrounded by an outer wall known as the *Meghanada Prachira*. Historians point out that this wall did not form a part of the Original plan of the temple. Due to constant Muslim invasion of this land, Purusottamadeva might have erected this to save the God from the clutches of the invaders. It gave the temple the form of fort having four gate-ways.

The gateways of the temple definitely added grandeur to the structure. The eastern gate is popularly known as *Simhadvara*. On either side of the entrance, the figure of big crouching lion with a crown on the head is found. Two rubust figures, Jaya and Vijaya are found on the pilasters of that door. This gate is famous among the pilgrims as *Jaya Vijaya dvara*. This gate is the main entrance to the temple. This gate contains the images of

Patitapabana, Ganesha, Hanumana etc. In front of the gate is *Aruna Khamva* (the Surya pillar) which was brought from Konarka and installed there during the Maratha rule.

The southern gate or Asvadvara comes next in order of importances. The gate is so named because two big horses (one black and another white) with their riders (Balram and Jagannath respectively) are found on the pilaster of that door. This reminds the people regarding the legend of the Kanchi-Kaveri expedition of Purusottamadeva.

The northern gate has two colossal elephants on either side. For that reason it is known as the *Hastidvara*. It comes next in importance to the *Asvadvara*.

The last entrance gate to the temple of God Jagannath is known as the *Vyaghradvara*. It is due to the presence of two big tiger images there. Their presence gives a grandiose) look to the gate.

The religious significance of these four gates is well discerened. The *Simhadvara* represents Dharma (piety); the *Asvadvara, Jnana* (knowledge); the *Hastidvara, Aisvarya* (material prosperity) and lastly, the *Vyaghradvara* represents *Vairagya* (renounciation).

Immediately, after the entrance into the temple through *Simhadvara*, a pilgrim has to cross *Baisipahacha* (22 steps) which, as per the Hindu belief, represent twenty-two sins of human life. When one crosses these steps, he crosses all the sins and attains *Punya* (religious merit). The main shrines in this area are the gateway of *Kurma bedha* and *Saraghara* of the *Suras*. The Small shrines in this *Baisipahachas* area are Kasivisvanatha, Ganesa, Nrusimha and Ghantamundia Thakurani. At the top of the *Baisipahacha*, a double wall divides the area into two, the outer one and the inner.

One can notice the shrines of Nrusimha, Barabhai Hanumana, Gopala, Rama and Budhima in the area stretching between the *Asvadvara* and the inner inclosure. Towards the western gate four important *tirthas* (places of pilgrimage) of India viz- the Vadrinarayana, Ramanatha, Krishanatha and Jagannath are found. If one visits these four shrines, he attains *Punya*.

The outer enclosure, after the *Hastidvara* is significant with the presence of the shrines of Sitala, Uttarayani, Hanumana, Somanatha, Dhavalesvara and Patalesvara. Four epigraphs of the famous Ganga monarch Anangabhimadeva III found in the Patalesvara temple describe the rituals of the Jagannath temple.

The *Rosasala* or the kitchen of Lord Jagannath is regarded as the greatest kitchen of the world. Here, rice and vegetables are cooked simultaneously by earthern pots kept over one another. The cooked rice and curry are offered to the God as *Bhoga* which becomes *Mahaprasada* after the offering is made.

Among the important shrines in the southern side the *Astadhatu* (made of eight metals) image of Nilamadhava in the shape of Lord Jagannath is important. The *Kalpabata* is another notable thing inside the temple complex where the women, desirous of son, bind threads in the branches of that great banyan tree.

The *Muktimandapa* (hall of salvation) is another sixteen pillared eleved rectangular building measuring 30 ft. × 38 ft. It was constructed by Gajapati Prataprudradeva. There the Brahmin Pandits, apt in sastric law assemble and give their expert guidance to people to get rid of sins. For centuries, this *Mandapa* has allured the attention of the people of Orissa and India as well.

Close to the *Muktimandapa* there is *Rohini Kunda*. It contains an image of a crow with four hands. The water of this *Kunda* is regarded as sacred by the pilgrims who sprinkle the same over their head.

Among other small temples inside the Jagannath temple complex, the Vimala temple deserves commendation. From the iconographic point of view, its construction can be dated before the construction of the Jagannath temple. The sacrifice of the goat before goddess Vimala on the Dasahara festival clearly indicates the Sakta-*tantric* character of the temple. The shrines of Sakshigopala, Kanchi Ganesh, *Panchasakti* Nilamadhava and Bhadrakali.

The temple of goddess Laxmi is another notable architectural splendour inside the temple complex of Lord Jagannath. The scene of elephants pouring water over the head of that goddess makes the pilgrim spell-bound for its artistic excellence.

The temple of *Navagraha* including the Sun god is another shrine inside the temple complex. It indicates the *Saura* cult had gained momentum during the glorious days of the Gangas as is evident also from the Sun temple at Konarka.

The *Anandabazar* is another notable site inside the temple complex. Here, the *Mahaprasada* of the Lord is sold. At that place, male and female irrespective of caste and creed take the *prasada* together. Besides, *Anandabazara*, the *Koili Vaikuntha, Nilachala Upabana* (garden) and a museum (recently opened) etc. are other noticeable features of the temple of Lord Jagannath. Thus, it is apparent that the temple of God Jagannath represents the amalgamation of the Saiva, Vaishnava, Ganapataya, Sakta and other cults thereby showing religious synthesis. It was again the best representation of the Kalinga style of art.

The Sun temple at Konarka

The Sun temple at Konarka, popularly known as 'Black Pagoda' was the fullest manifestation of the Kalinga style of art. Architecturally, it was a splendour in stone. This monumental temple was constructed by Narasimhadeva I or Langula Narasimhadeva in the 13th century A.D. The legend goes on that 1200 Orissan artists took 12 years for the construction of this gigantic structure. Situated at a distance of 35 kms. to the north-west of Puri on the river bank of Chandrabhaga, the Sun temple has allured the attention of tourists from all over the world. Konarka is popularly known as *Arkakshetra* connecting the worship of the Sun god.

The temple consisted of the *Vimana, Jagamohana* and *Natamandira*. The *Vimana* is now lost due to the fall of stones from the top of the temple. The existing *Jagamohana* (Mukhasala), designed with a pyramidal roof, stands on a high platform. The 24 wheels, carved on the sides of that elevated platform upon which the *Deul* (sanctum), *Vimana* (spire) and *Jagamohana* (porch) stand, represent the 24 hours of a day. A group of 7 spirited horses sculptured on the sides of the staircase denote 7 days of a week. The

The Sun temple at Konarka

wheels and horses together present the idea that the temple was designed in the form of a colossal Solar Chariot. The *Jagamohana* contained three doors each with attached steps. However, all these doors and steps have been blocked up and the interior filled up with sands. The *Vimana* and *Jagamohana* were planned in the *Pancharatha* style. The *Natamandira* was planned as a detached building in front of the main temple. It had approachable flight of steps on four sides. It is a lavishly carved pillared structure. All over the structure are depicted dance and musical performance that consist of *Pakhoaj* (leader braces and wooden blocks for producing designed intonation), *Dholak* (barrel shaped double faced longish drum), *Sahanai* (large pipes giving sweet music), *Karatalas* (large metallic cymbals with strings), *Vina* (strined musical instrument), *Vamsi* (flute) etc.

In front of the eastern flight of the *Jagamohana* stood a colossal chlorite pillar, known as *Arunastambha*. As stated earlier, it had been shifted from Konarka and installed in front of the temple of God Jagannath at Puri during the Maratha rule.

The main temple, that contained the idol of Sun god, was 230 ft. high, the biggest in the whole India. How ever, it is ruined. The compound of the temple is 877 ft. × 540 ft. It is really a wonder, how such big stone slabs were carried on to the top for the construction of this temple. It is suggested by the archaeologists that after burrying the structure from the ground by sands, the big stones were placed over it.

The Sun temple of Konarka is remarkable for its variety of sculptures. Among them are the deities, musician-nymphs of the celestial sphere, secular sculptures, erotic figures, birds, beasts, acquatic animals, mythological figures, architectual motifs reflected in figures, decorative bodies etc.

Among the deities the most remarkable are the chlorite images of *Surya* in the three projected southern, western and northern niches of the *Deul* symbolising the rising sun, mid-day sun and setting sun respectively. The artists very rightly matched their talent with creation by depicting the rising sun with a smiling face, the mid-day sun with grave look and the setting sun with faded look.

The *Navagraha* sculpture of the temple is another marvellous piece of architectural creation. From the left to right the planets have been installed in this order as such the Ravi (Sun), Chandra (Moon), Mangala (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Brihaspati (Jupiter), Sukra (Venus), Sani (Saturn), Rahu (the ascending node) and Ketu (the descending node). Now the Navagraha slab is kept inside separate temple.

The worship of Siva (in the form of Linga), Purusottama (God Jagannath) and Mahisamardhini (Durga) is gleaned from the sculptural remains of the Sun temple of Konarka. Four such sculptures have been preserved in four different places viz. one at Sun temple of Konarka, one in Konarka museum, one at the National Museum (New Delhi and the last in the *Bhogamandapa* of the Jagannath temple at Puri.

A noteworthy feature of the Sun temple of Konarka is the three outstanding animal figures which guarded the three starcases of the *Jagamohana*. Among these figures Gajasimhas (lion on elephant) find place in the east, elephants on the north and war-horses, on the south. These animal figures express the artistic skills of the Oriya sculptors.

The Sun temple at Konarka is a splendour of sculptures. Several sculptures like the decorated doors, royal chambers, the procession of king to receive the warriors, musicians playing on various musical instruments, meditation of saints, figures of elephants, horses, camels, snakes, divine and semidivine figures etc. bear ample testimony of the creative mind of the Oriya artists of that period.

Very interesting is the depiction of a ziraffe eating grapes on the temple wall of Konarka. It was an African animal. It is not known how the Oriya artists came in contact with this animal. Be that as it may, it was definitely a noteworthy feature of the temple art at Konarka.

A notable feature of the architecture of the Sun temple of Konarka is the presence of erotic figures in the walls. Like the Khajuraho temple, the obscence sculptures of Konarka, depict the sensual pleasures of human life. It is a clear indication that human life is equal to the life of beasts. The aim of such depiction was perhaps that a pilgrim who visits the temple should not be swayed by the mundane life but should control his senses to get victory over it. A. K. Coomarswamy, a notable art historian remarked regarding these sculptures as such :

> "Love and desire are part of life. Life is a veil behind or within which is God. The outside of the temple is an image of this life, *Samsara*, and the carvings on it present everything that belongs to *Samsara* and perpetuate illusion, every bond and each desire of loveliness that binds men to the wheel of life and death."

N. N. Bhattacharya comments on the erotic sculptures of the Sun temple of Konarka stating that it was the reflection of the abnormal sexual desires of the dominant class of the man whose magnificence was responsible for the construction of this temple. However, its importance has been rightly painted out by Robert Ebersole as such :

> "Even if one elects to dismiss the intrinsically superb sculptural qualities of the erotic figures, there still remains a tremendous number of morally acceptable example which attest to the fact that the temple of the Sun represents the culmination of medieval Hindu art and the supreme achievement of temple sculpture."

Really, the Sun temple at Konarka is the finest speciman of the creative genius of the Oriya artists. The Kalinga style of art reached the pinnacle of perfection with the erection of the Sun temple at Konarka. From the point of elegance, balance and beauty this temple, the only temple in Eastern India which got distinction to be one of the seven wonders of the world. Thus, writes Havel–

> "Had it by chance been labelled 'Roman' or 'Greek', this magnificent work of art would now be the pride of some great metropolitan museum in Europe and America. Here Indian sculptors have shown that they can express with as much fire and passion as the greatest European art, the pride of victory and the glory of triumphant warfare, for not even the Homeric grandeur of the Elign marbles surpasses the magnificent movement and modelling of Indian Achilles and the superbly monumental war horse in its massive strength and vigour is not unworthy of comparison with Verochhlo's famous master piece in Venice".

Besides these two great temples of national and international importance, the Ganga period also witnessed massive temple building activities. The temple of Ramesvara, the temple of Gangesvara at Bhubaneswar were built by Chodagangadeva. The temple of Chintamanisvara near Laxmisagara in Bhubaneswar was built by Lakshmi Devi, the wife of Chodagangadeva. The Anantavasudeva temple, located on the eastern bank of Vindusarovara was another important temple of that period which was built by Chandrikadevi, the daughter of Anangabhimadeva III. Another important temple of the Ganga period was Meghesvara temple of Bhubaneswar, constructed by Svapnesvaradeva, the brother-in-law of Rajaraja II and the Commander-in-chief of the Ganga army. Further, the Yamesvara temple, Mitresvara temple, Varunesvara temple, Bhaskaresvara temple, Chitresvara temple, Parvati temple (in the complex of the Lingaraj temple) all in Bhubaneswar belonged to this period. Among other temples, the Sobhanesvara Siva temple at Niali, the Dakshaprajapati Siva temple at Banapur, the Kshirachora Gopinath temple at Remuna in the Balasore district, the temple of Mukhalingam, Simhachalam, Narayanapuram, Tekkali etc. were also constructed during the glorious days of the Gangas.

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Chapter – 18

THE AFGHAN AND MUGHAL RULE IN ORISSA

With the accession of Govinda Vidyadhara after the glorious rule of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis, created anarchy and confusion in this land. The treachery and murders came to a halt when Mukunda Harichandana took over the reign of administration. The diplomacy of Akbar, as stated earlier, to help Mukundadeva against any possible attack from Bengal, gave impression to the latter that Bengal would not pose a problem for him. When Akbar was busy in the conquest of Chittor, Sulaiman Karrani dispatched his son Bayazid and General Kalapahada to attack Orissa. Mukundadeva had advanced upto Kotasima; but he had to retreat to deal with Ramachandra Bhanja, the recalcitrant chieftain of Sarangagarh. However, Mukundadeva was killed by the Afghans (see controversy in Chapter 12) in 1568 A.D. The final blow to the crumbling edifice of medieval Hindu power was given by Kalapahada, a cruel iconolist who damaged many temples of Orissa. This sounded the death knell of the independence of medieval Orissa and the local kings became mere puppets in the hands of the Afghan Governors of Bengal.

THE STRUGGLE OF AFGHANS TO RETAIN POWER OVER ORISSA

The Afghan invasion of Orissa forms a sad chapter in the medieval history of Orissa. It paved the way for the Muslim rule in Orissa.

Political condition of Orissa

The invasion of Bayazid and Kalapahada in 1568 A.D. established Muslim rule over Orissa, for the first time, under the Afghans. Before consolidation of the Afghan hold over Orissa, Sulaiman Karrani breathed his last in 1572 A.D. He was succeeded by Bayazid who, by his arrogant nature, incurred the displeasure of the Afghan chiefs. This caused his death at the hands of Hansu, the nephew and son-in-law of Sulaiman Karrani. The *Riyaz-us-Salatin* describes that after the death of Bayazid, his younger brother Daud Karrani, with a big force, marched against Hansu and killed him who had taken shelter with Qutlu and other Lohanis. Daud defied the authority of Akbar and ordered *Khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in his name. Further, instigated by Qutlu Lohani, the Governor of Orissa, Daud killed other Afghan veterans whom he thought a rival to the throne of Bengal.

Mughal–Afghans conflict

Emperor Akbar took a note of it and sent Raja Todarmal to Bihar to join Munim Khan. Though Munim Khan besieged Daud in Patna, he could not defeat him. With the arrival of Akbar, Daud left Bihar and returned to Bengal. Patna fell in the clutch of the Mughals. Munim Khan pursued Daud upto Bengal and occupied it. Daud fled again to Cuttack and remained unsubdued in Orissa. He moved forward and backward between Cuttack and Jaleswar keeping a close watch on the advance of the Mughal army. The combined army of Munim Khan and Todarmal crossed sword with Daud in 1575 A.D. The frey took place on the plain of Tukaroi, six miles west of Jaleswar on the bank of river

Suvarnarekha. Munim Khan was wounded by Gujar Khan, an able commanded of Daud. After sometime, when Munim Khan returned to the battle field again, Raja Todarmal, Laskar Khan, Mir-bakshi and others discharged showers of arrows upon the soldiers of Daud. An arrow struck Gujar Khan who met his end in the battle field. The battle of Tukaroi decreed in favour of the Mughals and Daud had no alternative but to rush towards Cuttack. The place, where the Mughals got victory over the Afghans, is still known as Mughalmari.

Mughal-Afghan conflict renewed

Under the leadership of Todarmal, the Mughal army followed Daud and did not halt on the way until they reached Kaikalghati (Bhadrak), described *Ain-i-Akbari.* In the mean while, Daud and other Afghans gathered inside the fort of Barabati at Cuttack. Munim Khan, being cured fully, came and joined with Todarmal. He, then, held a grand council on the bank of river Mahanadi with his Amirs in chalking out the plan for besieging the fort.

Temporary surrender of Daud

The situation was now crystal clear to Daud. He sent a message to Munim Khan and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* records it as follows:

> "The striving to crush a party of Musalmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject, but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal sufficient for my support may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel."

After this, Munim Khan called Daud to his court on 12 April, 1557 A.D. who went with his Afghan nobles and officers. He submitted before Munim Khan and promised not to take any hostile action against emperor Akbar. He presented his best elephants to Munim Khan and sent his nephew Shaikh Muhammad, son of Bayazid who accompained Munim Khan to the Mughal court later on. Munim Khan presented a sword with a jewelled belt to Daud and said :

> "You have now become a subject of imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have, therefore, requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition granting this to you as my *'tankhwah'* has been granted to me. I now greet you afresh with this war like sword." (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*)

Akbar approved the deed of Munim Khan. Daud got Orissa. Munim Khan became the Governor of Bengal. After this arrangement, Todarmal returned to Delhi.

Diplomacy of Daud

The surrender of Daud Karrani was a mere eye-wash. He was in search of an opportunity to launch a war against the Mughals. The chance came to him with the death of Munim Khan on 23 October, 1575 A.D. Daud ignored the humiliating treaty made with Munim Khan, the *Khan-i-Khanan* and unfurled the banner of revolt against the Mughals. With a lightning march, he proceeded to Bhadrak and killed Nazar Bahadur, the Governor of Akbar, posted there. After bringing Bhadrak under his grip, he marched towards Jaleswar and smelling a scent of it. Murad Khan the Mughal officer of Jaleswar fled away to Tanda. Jaleswar was reoccupied by Daud who immediately proceeded to Bengal. The Mughal officers and army returned to Bhagalpur *en route* to Delhi at the approach of Daud. Now, Daud consolidated his position over Bengal and Orissa.

Akbar's step to crush the resels

Having heard this news, Akbar appointed Husain Quli Beg entitled *Khan-i-Jahan*, to lead an expedition against the Afghans assisted by Todarmal. He proceeded with a grand Mughal army towards Bengal via Bihar. At Bhagalpur, *Khan-i-Jahan* waited. He talked with the Amirs of Bengal who met him there. Then marching ahead, the imperial army very easily recovered the Teligarhi pass. Daud Karrani, supported by his uncle Junaid and other Afghan chiefs, offered strong resistance to the imperial army at Rajmahal. In the mean while, Muzaffar Khan was sent by Akbar who collected forces from Bihar, Hajipur and Patna and joined the imperial army led by *Khan-i-Jahan* on 10 July, 1576 A.D.

A fierce battle took place between the Mughals and Afghans on 12 July, 1576 A.D. The Afghans were utterly defeated and almost all their great leaders met their end. A Cannon-ball wounded Junaid and his leg was broken. Daud was captured and imprisoned for his disloyalty to emperor Akbar. Kalapahada and Qutlu Lohani could survive by flight, though the former was severely wounded.

The beginning of the Mughal rule in Orissa

From 1576 A.D. to 1605 A.D., nearly thirty years were spend by the Mughal officers of Bengal to drive away the Afghans from Orissa but they were very much unsuccessful in their mission. Though, after the fall of Daud, Orissa was annexed to Akbar's empire but Mughal administration could not be implemented effectively in the province till the death of Akbar. With the death of Hussain Quli Khan in 1578 A.D. Muzaffar Khan Turbati was appointed as the Governor of Bengal and Mausum Khan Afghan was appointed as the Governor of Orissa. The Mughal government now appointed some Afghan *Jagirdars* in Orissa who were constantly being harassed by Muzaffar Khan. Masum Khan, the administrator of Orissa now got a chance to organise the Afghans of Orissa and became ready to have a show down with Mughals.

Akbar and the Afghan rebels (~~[illegible]~~) ବିଦ୍ରୋହି)

After regularising the administration of Orissa, Todarmal returned to Delhi in 1582 A.D. (discussed in the forth coming pages). In the meanwhile, *Khan-i-Azam* was appointed as the Governor of Bengal. Qutlu Lohani, another great supporter of Daud Karrani, now appeared in the political scene and established his authority over Orissa supported by Masum Khan. He advanced towards Hoogly and defeated Muhammad Nizat Khan, the Mughal Fauzdar of the place at Salimabad. On hearing this, Akbar dispatched a vast army at the command of *Khan-i-Azam* who proceeded to Katigang to teach a lesson to the Afghan rebels.

Preparation for the war

The Afghan rebels, led by Masum Khan and Qutlu Lohani, met the Mughal army on 27 March, 1583. The Afghans were defeated at the hands of the Mughals. The Afghans now had no alternative but to conclude peace with the Mughals. At this juncture, *Khan-i-Azam* was transferred from Bengal as its climate did not suit his and Shahbaz Khan was appointed as his successor. Qutlu Lohani broke the peace treaty with the Mughals and as a natural corollary, a frey took place between Qutlu and the Mughals on 15 July, 1583 A.D. near Burdwan. In this battle, the Afghan commander Bahadur Kuruh was defeated. After that, the Afghans rushed towards Orissa.

Surrender of Lohani

In the meanwhile, Akbar sent an army to keep an eye on the frontier of Orissa. Qutlu Lohani organised the Pathans and met the Mughals of Burdwan. Wazir khan led the

Mughal army and defeated the Afghan chief. Being defeated, Qutlu Lohani marched towards Jaleswar and there, he surrendered himself before the Mughal army by presenting sixty elephants to the Mughals.

That situational surrender was diplomatic strategy by Qutlu Lohani. After regaining strength, the Afghans renewed their attack and plunder over Burdwan. By pursuation of the Mughals, Isa Khan, Masum Khan and other Afghan leaders left the companion of Qutlu Lohani and surrendered to Akbar. Qutlu Lohani enjoyed his days in Orissa unperturbed by Mughal attacks. No doubt, the Mughals had their sway over Bengal but Orissa remained the stronghold of the Afghan Chiefs until it was finally conquered by Man Singh in 1593 A.D.

The Mughal-Afghan Alliance →

When Qutlu Khan Lohani was enjoying his days in Orissa, Akbar sent one of his ablest general Raja Man Singh to deal with the Afghans. The march of the imperial army prompted Qutlu Khan to make himself ready for the fight with the Mughals. To that effect, he sent Bahadur Kuruh, an Afghan General. Assisted by Umar Khan, Khwaja Isa and others Bahadur Kuruh inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mughal army led by Jagat Singh, the son of Man Singh at Raipur. In the meanwhile, Qutlu Khan Lohani breathed his last and his son succeeded him. As he was a weak ruler, his *Wazir* Khwaja Isa sued for peace with the Mughals which was accepted by Man Singh. The treaty between the Afghans and Mughals was signed on 15 August, 1590 A.D. The terms of the treaty were as follows:

1. The name of the emperor should be used on the coins and the Khutba is to be read in his name.
2. The Afghan ruler of Orissa should be both obedient and loyal vassel of the emperor.
3. Jagannath (at Puri) and its surrounding districts would be ceded to the emperor.

Position of Raja Ramachandradeva →

From the treaty, it appears that it neither satisfied the Afghans nor Ramachandradeva, the then king of Orissa. Very cunningly by influencing Akbar, Man Singh had inserted a clause in the treaty for the protection of the principal Hindu religious institution of Jagannath against any Afghan oppression. This was a diplomatic manoeuvre to encourage the support of the Hindus of Orissa towards the benevolent Mughal rule based on the principle of toleration. Then, why Ramachandradeva was not satisfied ? It was only because his power and position as the custodian of God Jagannath had not been at all reflected in the treaty. On the other hand, the Mughals became the custodian of God. Of course, the conquest of Orissa by Man Singh never put an end to the Afghan hostility.

Now, Khwaja Isa, the *Wazir* of Nasir Khan, paid allegience to The emperor Akbar and ruled for two years according to the terms of the treaty. With his death in 1592 A.D., Nasir Khan, with his followers, captured the temple of God Jagannath defying Mughal authority and seized the crown land of Puri. Undoubtedly, Raja Ramachandradeva backed the Afghans. Again, Man Singh marched with a grand Mughal army to deal with the Afghans. On 10 April, 1592 A.D., a stiff resistance the Mughal army faced from the Afghans on the bank of river Suvarnarekha. However, a determined Mughal army defeated the Afghans and chased them towards Cuttack via Jaleswar and Bhadrak.

Fall of Sarangagarh →

Being hard pressed by the Mughal army, the Afghans could not maintain their stand at Cuttack. Their stronghold, Cuttack fell into the hands of the Mughals. The Afghans

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fled away to the fort of Sarangagarh. At this juncture, Man Singh first started towards Khurda and Raja Ramachandradeva shut himself at the fort. It was difficult on his part to send any help to the Afghans at Sarangagarh. After a feeble resistance, the Afghans surrendered and Sarangagarh fell.

Man Singh besieged Khurda Ramachandradeva showed his loyalty at Akbar and made peace with Man Singh in 1593. He was recognised as the ruler of Khurda by Akbar and the protector of the Jagannath temple at Puri. He was offered a rank of a *Mansabdar* of three thousands and five hundreds. With the surrender of Ramachandradeva in 1593, the Mughal conquest of Orissa was complete and that put an end to the Afghan rule in Orissa. Hence, Orissa permanently formed a part of the Mughal empire till it was conquered by the Marathas.

RULE OF THE MUGHALS

Orissa under Akbar

As is noticed, the protracted struggle between the Afghans and Mughals came to an end in 1593 A.D. by Man Singh, one of the ablest General of Akbar. This brought a complete subjugation of the Afghans. Of course, prior to it, Akbar had taken steps to implement Mughal administration in Orissa. With the death of Daud Karrani, Raja Todarmal had arranged peaceful administration in Orissa. By the will of Akbar, peace with Ramachandradeva was made. Man Singh recognised him as the true successors of the Gajapatis of Orissa. Due to this recognition, the position of Ramachandradeva was asserted on Orissan soil who took up the title 'Gajapati'. In a diplomatic way, Man Singh also satisfied two sons of Mukundadeva by giving them the *zamindari* of Aul and Patia, as stated earlier. Normalcy was restored to this land with active in intervention of Raja Man Singh. He implemented Todarmal's revenue system in Orissa. There was no intervention in the temple administration of Puri during Akbar's time. Orissa was attached to Bengal *Suba* and ruled from Head Quarters located in Bengal.

Orissa Under Jahangir

With the death of Akbar, Jahangir ascended the throne in 1605 A.D. He did not follow the liberal policy pursued by Akbar. He intervened in the internal administration of Khurda and the temple of God Jagannath. Orissa became a separate *Suba*. Hasim Khan was appointed as the Governor of Orissa. He prepared a plan to march against Purusottamadeva, the Raja of Khurda. Before he implemented this plan, his subordinate Raja Keso Das Maru Marched against Purusottamadeva for materialising the dream of his master.

Occupation of Puri

At the time of Car festival, when the images of God Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra were in the *Gundicha* house, Keso Das Maru entered into the Jagannath temple with his Rajput soldiers having a plea to visit the temple. He tortured the priests of the temple and seized property estimated more than two crores of rupees. At this shocking news, Purusottamadeva of Khurda marched with his grand army consisting of infantry, cavalry and chariots. Though, the temple was besieged by the soldiers of Purusottamadeva, the Rajput soldiers of Keso Das Maru threw rags soaked with oil and ghee setting fire in these materials. All in a sudden, the chariots of Purusottam caught fire and soldiers on their top were burnt alive.

Conditions of the Treaty

At last, the King of Khurda surrendered before Keso Das Maru with the following humiliating conditions :

1. To send his daughter to the imperial *harem*.
2. To pay three lakhs of rupees as *Peshkash* to the imperial exchequer.
3. To give his own sister in marriage to Keso Das Maru.
4. To pay one lakh rupees as *Nal Bandi* (light tribute or present) to the Raja and his followers.

Purusottamadeva had no alternative but to agree to these proposals. Accordingly, Keso Das married the sister of Purusottamadeva and went to Puri. From that place he sent news to Khurda to send other articles of demand which Purusottam fulfilled immediately. This exalted his position before emperor Jahangir who prompted Keso Das to the rank of four thousand horses and offered a robe of honour, a jewelled sword with belt, a horse etc.

Kalyanmal's Khurda occupation

With the termination of the governorship of Hasim Khan, Raja Kalyanmal was appointed by Jahangir as the Governor of Orissa in 1611 A.D. He cast his glances over the kingdom of Khurda which was ruled by Purusottamadeva who was guided by Rajaguru Vidyadhara. With diplomacy, Kalyanmal invited Vidyadhara to Ghantasila Tangi and made him a captive. All in a sudden, he attacked Khurda. Hard pressed by the situation, Raja Purusottama sued for peace.

Terms of the Treaty

The terms of the treaty were as follows:

1. The Raja would surrended to him.
2. The daughter of the Raja would be sent to the imperial harem.
3. The king should agree to pay three lakhs of rupees as *Peshkash* to the imperial treasury along with Sesha Naga, the renowned elephant for the use of the emperor.
4. The king must attend the emperor in person.

Purusottamadeva agreed to all these proposals. However, Raja Kalyanmal was removed from his service in 1617 A.D. by Jahangir.

Khurda occupation by Mukarram Khan

After Kalyanmal, Mukarram Khan was appointed by Jahangir as Governor of Orissa in 1617 A.D. After the assumption of charges, he was grossly indulged in iconoclastic activities. He injured the statue of Sakhi Gopal. At his approach, the *Sevakas* removed the idols from the temple of Puri and took them to Gobapadar. Purusottamadeva, the king of Khurda became furious and wanted to deal with this whimscal Governor. The attack of Mukarram Khan was so vigorous and fatal that the king fled away from Khurda and sought asylum with the king of Rajahmundry. It appears that Khurda was termporarily annexed to the Mughal empire. His conquest of Khudra was highly appreciated in the Mughal court and emperor Jahangir rewarded him by sending valuable gifts.

Death of Purusottamadeva

With his removal in 1620 A.D. Husain Ali Khan became the Governor of Orissa for a short while. After him, Ahmad Beg was appointed in the same post in 1621 A.D.

Purusottamadeva gathered support from the local chiefs of Banapur, Ranapur and ruler of Rajahmundry. At this, Ahmad Beg proceeded up to Banapur via Khurda. While holding a camp near Banapur, Purusottamadeva breathed his last. He was succeeded by his son Narasimhadeva.

Khurram's visit to Orissa

When Narasimhadeva proceeded towards Garah Manitri for the safety of royal family, Ahmad Beg invaded Khurda. By this time Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) revolted against Jahangir and from the Deccan he came to Orissa via Golkunda. At his approach, Ahmad Beg fled to Burdwan and then to Akbar Nagar.

Narasimhadeva and his supporters greeted Shah Jahan with humility. Being overpleased at the behaviour of the king, Shah Jahan left for Bengal. His plan to conquer Allahabad and Oudh was foiled due to the alertness of Mahabbat Khan. So, suddenly he returned to Golkunda via Orissa. After his return, Ahmad Beg again became the Governor of Orissa and remained in that charge till 1628 A.D. Jahangir's rule is important for two reasons so far as Orissa is concerned. Firstly, Orissa became a separate administrative unit free from Bengal. Secondly, the king of Khurda lost the sympathy of the Mughal emperor and thus, was under the direct rule of the Mughal authority.

Orissa under Shah Jahan

After the acession of Shah Jahan to the Mughal throne in 1628 A.D. Muhmmad Baqar Khan was appointed as the Governor of Orissa. In the meanwhile, Qutb Shahi soldiers had invaded Khurda. After assuming his charge as Governor, Baqar Khan marched with his soldiers to Khira Pahar, four miles from Chhattarduar on the frontier of the Mughal province of Orissa in the winter and invaded Qutb Shahi empire in 1629-30 A.D. However, his plundering of the Qutb Shahi territory took a halt at the advent of the rainy season that compelled him to return Cuttack.

Baqar Khan's occupation of Mansurgarh

With the end of rainy season, Baqar Khan again marched to the Deccan with his soldiers and reached the fort of Mansurgarh. The Qutb Shahi soldiers gave a toe fight but were defeated by the Mughal soldiers and the fort fell in the hands of Baqar Khan who returned to Cuttack with a smile. After his return, the Qutb Shahi soldiers reassembled themselves and tried to reassert their hold over the fort. This act forced an aggressive Baqar who returned with vengeance and defeated the Golkunda soldiers, thereby annexing some Qutb Shahi territories to the Mughal empire of Orissa. For his act of bravery, he received a letter of appreciation from the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. However, his atrocities over the zamindars of Orissa was viewed adversely and the emperor recalled him from Orissa in 1632 A.D. He was forced by the emperor to explain about the realisation of forty lakhs of rupees which he had collected forcibly from the zamindars of Orissa.

Mutaqad Khan as Governor

Baqar Khan was succeeded by Mutaqad Khan as Governor of Orissa in 1632 A.D. He granted permission to Captain Ralph Cartwright to establish English factory at Hariharpur where there was a colony of weavers. From the accounts of William Burton, it is known that the British East India Company had its factories in Balasore and undivided Cuttack districts during this time. Mutaqad Khan constructed Lalbagh palace at Cuttack. His rule as *Subahdar* in Orissa was marked with peace and glory. He remained in this charge upto 1641 A.D.

Other Governors of Orissa

After him, there were seven Governors of Orissa among whom the rule of Muhammad Zaman Teherani from 1642-1645 A.D. was significant. Prince Shuja had sent him as a Deputy to Orissa on his own behalf. During his governorship, the factories of the English East India Company were established in Orissa at Balasore. A notable achievement during his regime was that he dealt with Bhadur Khan, the Zamindar of Hijli who held power over an extensive coastal district stretching from Rupnarayan to the river Suvarnarekha of Orissa. He ruled like an independent Sultan as if his empire was "unsubdued and uncared for *Subah* of Orissa." Muhammad Zaman led an expedition against Bahadur Khan who was defeated and imprisoned at Dacca in 1657 A.D., Shah Jahan fell ill and was imprisoned by Aurangzeb who ascended the Mughal throne in 1658 A.D.

The period of Shah Jahan was remarkable in Orissa mainly for three reasons. Firstly, there was no invasion on Khurda on behalf of the Mughal Governor of Orissa. Secondly, the Mughal army never invaded the Jagannath temple at Puri. Lastly, factories were established by English in Orissa facilitating commercial prosperity of this land.

Orissa under Aurangzeb

The chaos and confusion that prevailed in Orissa during the rule of Prince Shujah, came to drastic end with the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658 A.D. During his initial years of administration, Mir Jumal established law and order in Bengal and sent Ihtishan Khan to assume the authority of Orissa. After taking over the charge as the *Subahdar* of Orissa, he issued a proclamation that *Khutba* should be read in the name or Aurangzeb in all the mosques of Orissa. Next, he intimated, by order, to all the *Mansabdars, Choudhuries, Quanungoes* and *Zamindars* ragarding his own appointment. Further, he ordered the officers and Zamindars to meet him at Narayangarh. Of course, as it appears, this order fell in deaf ears. Within a very short span of time, he was replaced by Khan-i-Dauran as *Subahdar* of Orissa.

Murder of Krushna Chandra Bhanja

The rule of Khan-i-Dauran in Orissa began with a dismal note. The refractory Zamindars of Orissa had ceased to pay revenues to the Mughals. Coming to Jaleswar via Narayanagarh, he sent order to zamindar Bahadur Khan of Hijli and Krushna Chandra Bhanja of Hariharpur to pay him homage. When Krushna Chandra Bhanja talked defiantly to the *Subahdar*, the former was put to death by the latter. All the followers of Krushna Chandra Bhanja suffered the same fate by the order of Khan-i-Dauran.

Supression of Zamindars

Then began the drama of supression of the local zamindars. The *Subahdar* marched against zamindars like Uddanda of Narasimhapur, Chhatreswar Dhal of Ghatasila and Harichandan Krishna Bhanja of Nilgiri and subdued them. He proceeded to Remuna to look into the chaotic condition that had taken place at Mayurbhanj after the death of Krushna Chandra Bhanja. However, the surrender of Jayachandra Bhanja, the brother of deceased Rama Chandra Bhanja led the *Subahdar* to recognize him as the Raja of Hariharapur and to offer his son the title of *Tikayat.*

Rebellion of Mukundadeva

The next target of Khan-i-Dauran was Khurda. Raja Mukundadeva had turned rebellious against the Mughals by joining his hands with the zamindars of Banki, Ranapur,

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Sarangagarh, Damapara and the nearby locality. After reaching Cuttack, Khan-i-Dauran fell ill for two months. Being recovered, he marched ahead to settle score with Mukundadeva of Khurda in February 1661 A.D. He first captured the seven hill forts and ravaged Khurda. Out of fear, Mukundadeva fled away and his younger brother Kapila Bhramaravara Raya surrendered to the *Subahdar* without any resistance. Other zamindars, mentioned above, followed the same path. At last, Mukundadeva, surrendered himself before Khan-i-Dauran.

Khan-i-Dauran's harsh steps

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Without halting a little, Khan-i-Dauran proceeded to Keonjhar, defeated Raja Laxminarayana Bhanja and snatched away from him the fort or Panchira which he had occupied during the misrule of Prince Sujah. With gradual succession, the *Subahdar* suppressed the zamindars of Ranapur, Damapara, Sarangagarh, Patia, Kanika, Kujanga, Maluda and other smaller ones. By such rash activities on the part of the *Subahdar*, the imperial authority in Orissa was thoroughly reasserted restoring peace and stability in the land once again. After accomplishing the task, he wrote a letter to Aurangzeb thus :

> "I have punished all the usurpers, oppressors ..... of the province and made them obedient. The revenue is being collected by our officers. The people are enjoying peace and happiness and playing their trades."

Within a short span of time, he collected and remitted a revenue amounting fifteen lakhs of rupees alongwith many valuable jewells to the court of Aurangzeb that made him happy.

Other Governors

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Khan-i-Dauran breathed his last in September 1667 A.D. He was succeeded by Tarbiyat Khan who remained in this charge till 1669 A.D. He was succeeded by Safi Khan known as 'Ruffee Ckanna Naboob,' of Orissa by the English writers. Safi Khan gave way to Rashid Khan who was replaced by Shayista Khan, the maternal uncle of Aurangzeb. Then Governors like Salih Khan, Abu Nasar Khan, Akram Khan, Ghaznafar Khan, Askar Khan, Kamgar Khan, Azim-us-Shan, the grand-son of Aurangzeb ruled Orissa in gradual succession till 1704 A.D. After that, Murshid Quli Khan was appointed as *Subahdar* of Orissa who remained in the post till 1707 A.D., when Aurangzab breathed his last. After that Orissa came under the rule of the Nazims of Bengal.

Junaid's bigotry

Aurangzeb was a staunch Sunni Musim and a religious bigot out and out. He appointed Junaid as the *Muhtasib* for the propagation of Islam in Orissa. Several Hindu temples including goddess Sarala at Jhankada in the present Jagatsinghpur district and a good number of temples at Jajpur were demolished by his order. In 1662 A.D., Aurangzab issued order for the destruction of Jagannath temple at Puri. However, Raja Divyasimhadeva of Khurda bribed the *Subahdar* who not only reported a pretended destruction of the Jagannath temple at Puri before Aurangzeb but also sent a fake image of Lord Jagannath to him. By these iconoclastic activities of Junaid, Aurangzeb was elated. Anyway, the rule of Aurangzeb in Orissa was marked for four distinct features. Firstly, the recalcitrant zamindars were dealt with iron hands. Secondly, law and order were restored. Thirdly, Hindu religion was not allowed to spread due to massive iconoclastic activities which brought ruin to many important temples of Orissa. Lastly, the Naib Nazims of Bengal played a dominant role in discharging the administration of Orissa.

Mughal Administration in Orissa

The Mughal administration was very efficient. It was Dischared very carefully.

The Sarkars

The Mughals introduced an elaborate system of administration in Orissa. Todarmal divided Orissa into five *Sarkars* in 1582 A.D. namely– Jaleswar *Sarkar* (extending from river Rupnarayan to Budhabalanga), Bhadrak *Sarkar* (extending from river Budhabalanga to Brahmani), Cuttack *Sarkar* (extending from river Brahmani to Chilika lake), Kalingadandapat (South Orissa) and Rajahmundry (North Andhra).

Revenue Administration

The prime motive of the Mughals was to get a huge amount of revenue from Orissan soil. Keeping that end in view, Todarmal, the great revenue minister of Akbar introduced his *bandobast* (settlement) in Orissa which was famous as *Tankhwah Raqmi.* Accordingly, Orissa was divided into two parts– the *Mughalbandi* and *Garjat*. The area which remained under the direct administration of the Mughals was called *Mughalbandi.* The *Garjats* were the area which remained under the direct administration of the native kings, who submitted to the Mughals by paying a fixed annual Peshkash. This settlement acknowledged the hereditary chiefs of the Garjats as hereditary *fiefs* in zamindari tenure.

Raja Man Singh gave a final shape to this system of Todarmal in 1593 A.D. The Raja of Khurda held a key position among the zamindars of Orissa. Under him were thirty small zamindars. Very famous among them were the zamindars of Banki, Damapada, Badamba, Tigiria, Narasinghpur, Athgarh, Angul, Talcher, Khandapada, Ranapur, Dasapalla, Ghumsar etc.

Change in Revenue administration by Aurangzeb

A change in the revenue administration of Orissa drastically took place during the reign period of Aurangzeb. In 1728 A.D. Murshid Quli Khan introduced a new system in Orissa known as *Jamma Kamal.* In this settlement, the rate was specified in terms of cowrie currency. During his time, Orissa was divided into 12 *Sarkars* having 258 *Mahals*.

The Revenue Officers

Among the revenue officers of the Mughals, the *Choudhuries, Muqaddams,* and *Quanungoes* played dominant role in revenue collection. Misappropriation of the revenue was rampant. As the Mughals remained at Delhi, far away from Orissa, they could not cast their eyes on the revenues collected. Under this circumstance, it was quite natural of being misappropriated.

Other Officers

The Mughal revenue administration divided Orissa into *Sarkars* which were again divided into *Mahals*. The *Mahals* were again subdivided into *Taluqs* and *Mauja* was the last unit of revenue division under the Mughals. The head of the *Sarkar* was *Faujdar, Choudhury* became the head of *Mahal, Taluqdar* became the head of the *Taluq* and the head of the *Mauj* was *Muquddam.*

Administration in Garjat

In the *Garjat* administration, however, very little changes were made. The feudatory kings were called zamindars. The head of the *Garh* was conferred with the title of *Quilladar.*

By frequent transfer of governors, the Mughals put a check on the officers associated with the administration of Orissa. This Mughal model of administation was followed subsequently by others, to a greater extent, in Orissa.

Dealing with Religion

Though, in the field of religion, Mughal administration had taken a tolerant view during Akbar and Shah Jahan's period, this was not the same during Aurangzeb's regime. He was a hardcore Sunni Muslim and he wanted to deal with the Hindu subjects of Orissa scorn and contempt. He imposed pilgrim tax upon the Hindus who visited the temple of God Jagannath. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his book, *History of Aurangzeb*, mentions about the temple destruction order of Aurangzeb to be implemented in Orissa as such :

> ".... the Emperor learning from news letters of the province of Orissa that at the village of Tilkuti at Medinapura temple has been newly built, his issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all the temples built anywhere in this province by the worthless infidels. Therefore you are commanded with extreme urgency that immediately on the receipt of this letter you should destroy the above mentioned temples. Every idol house built during the last 10 or 12 years whether with brick or clay should be demolished without delay. Also do not allow the crushed Hindus and the infidels to repair their old temples. Reports of the destruction of the temples should be sent to the court under the seal of the quzis and attested by pious Shaikhs."

This clearly show that Aurangzeb ordered for the destruction of newly built temples. It further suggests that the building of new temples should be stopped in Orissa. During his reign period, the administration of the temple of God Jagannath at Puri got a set back and some festivals of the temple could not be performed in proper time.

Aurangzeb championed the cause of the Muslims in Orissa. During his reign huge lands were granted to the *Ulemas, Maulavis,* holy men and downtrodden Muslims in Orissa. During his reign period, Shaikh Abul Khair of Golpara and Shaikh Barkhudar of Cuttack received *Madad-i-mash* (grant of land for religious purposes) lands.

The Mughal rule in Orissa was not marked with much significance. No doubt, Orissa was well divided into different *Sarkars*, however, the administration was not smoothly discharged due to frequent change of governors. A peaceful co-existence of both Hindus and Muslims was effected during this phase of the Mughal rule in Orissa. Economically, Orissa was not prosperous in comparison to the Hindu period, still then it was better than the Maratha period. Anyway, Orissa came under the orbit of a uniform Mughal administration which prevailed throughout the country. After Mughals, the Nazims of Bengal ruled Orissa till it was occupied by the Marathas.

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Chapter – 19

ORISSA UNDER THE NAIB NAZIMS OF BENGAL

During the early rule of the Mughals, *Subahdars* from Delhi came to rule over Orissa. As discussed earlier, Todarmal, Man Singh, Mukram Khan, Muhammad Baqar Khan, Muhammad Zaman, Khan-i-Dauran etc. took the charge as the Governor of Orissa. However, Aurangzeb's, reign period, the Mughal empire passed through many threatening circumstances caused by the Qutb Shahis and Adil Shahis of Deccan, Sikhs, Rajputs and several other local chiefs. So, it was not possible on his part to sent Governors from Delhi to maintain the administration in Orissa. When Murshid Quli Khan took over the charge of the administration of Orissa, virtually, passed into the hands of the Naib Nazims of Bengal. With the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., his weak successors could not pay attention towards the administration of Orissa. They existed by name but could not exert their influence over the Nazims of Bengal. At that juncture, it was but natural that Orissa was governed by the Naib Nazims of Bengal until the Marathas established their sway over it.

Murshid Quli Khan-I

Emperor Aurangzeb was quite aware of the ability of Murshid Quli Khan.The former had appointed the latter as the *Diwan* of Bengal and Orissa. The *Subahdar* of Bengal by that time, was Prince Muhammad Azim-us-Shah (son of Bahadur Shah-I and grandson of Aurangzeb). He did not pull well with Murshid Quli and hatched a plot to kill the latter. Murshid Quli foiled the attempt of the prince and wrote a letter to Aurangzeb. With the death of Askar Khan, Murshid Quli was entrusted with the charge of *Naib Subahdar* and *Faujdar* of Orissa and finally in 1703 A.D., he was given the independent charge as *Subahdar* of Orissa.

However, his governorship in Orissa was not a smooth sailing one. After the death of Aurangzeb, when Bahadur Shah I became the Mughal emperor, Prince Azim-us-Shah was successful in taking revenge on Murshid Quli. As per the order of the emperor, Murshid Quli's position was degraded and he was sent as *Diwan* to look after the Deccan affair in 1708 A.D. He swallowed this bitter pill.

In 1712 A.D., Azim-us-Shah was killed. Bahadur Shah also breathed his last. After the war of succession that continued among his sons, Jahandar Shah became the emperor of Delhi. His claim was challenged by Farrukh Shiyar who ascended the throne in 1713 A.D. He could not take Murshid Quli into confidence at first. When the latter sent presents and provincial tribute to the former, it prompted Farrukh Shiyar to appoint Murshid Quli as deputy *Subahdar* of Bengal in 1731 A.D. and finally, as *Subahdar* of Orissa in 1714 A.D.

The long cherished desire of Murshid Quli Khan was fulfilled. In 1717 A.D., another feather to the crowned cap of Murshid Quli was added when he was declared as the *Subahdar* of Bengal in addition to his usual charge of Orissa. Owing to the pressure of work, he appointed his son-in-law, Suja-Uddin Muhammad Khan as deputy Governor of Orissa. However, Murshid Quli had to change his mind when he found that Suja-Uddin as not pulling well with his daughter Zynat-un-Nisa (wife of Suja-Uddin). He appealed to the emperor of Delhi to replace Suja-Uddin from Orissa and to appoint his grand-son Sarfaraz Khan (the son of Suja-Uddin) in his place. By that time, Suja-Uddin had exerted his influence in the royal court at Delhi and the proposal of Murshid Quli was turned down. Out of frustration, he died in 1727 A.D. His revenue reform (discussed in foregoing pages) in Orissa was a notable step in the field of financial reform.

Suja-Uddin Muhammad Khan

With the death of Murshid Quli Khan, the throne of Bengal was occupied by his son-in-law Suja-Uddin Muhammad Khan. As he was very apt in dealing with the Mughals, immediately after his accession to the throne of Bengal in 1727 A.D., he sent valuable presents along with forty lakhs of rupees, which was a part of the private property of his father-in-law Murshid Quli to the court of Muhammad Shah, the new Mughal emperor. This stabilized the position of Suja-Uddin Muhammad Khan as the *Subahdar* of Bengal and Orissa. He appointed his son Sarfaraz Khan as the *Diwan* of Bengal. His other son, Muhammed Taqi Khan and after him his son-in-law, Murshid Quli Khan-II were appointed as Deputy Governors of Orissa to rule the land on his own behalf.He was a hard task master in collecting revenue from the people of Orissa. The revenue collection from the people of Orissa was an exploitative measure of Suja-Uddin Muhammad Khan, who sent a large chunk of it to the Delhi Court for securing his position.

During the governorship of Suja-Uddin, the territorial extent of Orissa shrinked. On the north, Jeleswar division was annexed to Bengal and on the south, the Nizam of Hyderabad occupied Orissan territory upto Tekkali-Raghunathpur and the adjoining villages. Suja-Uddin always looked after the interests of mechant community. Thomas Motte, in his monumental book, *Early European Travellers in Nagpur Territories* states that Suja-Uddin advised the merchants to leave Pipli and to establish their factories in Balasore because a greater part of Pipli was being washed away by the water. To facilitate the merchants, he built bridges over the rivers on the way that connected Cuttack with Murshidabad. He built Qadam Rasul Mosque, a beautiful Muslim shrine at Cuttack. Besides the burden of tax over the people of Orissa, his reign period was marked with peace and tranquility.

Muhammad Taqi Khan

It has been stated that Suja-Uddin remained busy in the affairs of Bengal and sent Taqi Khan, his son to look after the administration of Orissa. Taqi Khan became the deputy Governor of Orissa and he dealt with Raja Ramachandradeva II of Khurda scorn and contempt. During his deputy governorship, Raja Ramachandradeva II was converted to Islam faith and was also kept captive in the fort of Barabati. His longing towards God Jagannath and desire to perform the festivals of the God, led Taqi Khan to invade Khurda time and again which has been discussed earlier, in connection with the Bhoi dynasty. During his period, the images of the Lords were transferred from the grand temple of Puri and secretly taken to Banapur and to Tekkali to save them from the wrath of Taqi Khan. The visit of Pilgrims to the temple of God Jagannath decreased considerably during this period as fear dominated their mind regarding their safety and security from the clutches of the Muslim officers. Taqi Khan was instrumental in building a Qadam Rasul at Balasore having a pond and a garden attached to it. He was an anti-Hindu out and out. The Hindus of Orissa took revenge on him. It has been stated, how by the instruction of Ramachandradeva, Taqi Khan was poisoned inside the fort of Barabati.

Murshid Quli Khan II

At the death of Taqi Khan in 1735 A.D., Murshid Quli Khan II was sent immediately by Suja-Uddin as deputy *Subahdar* to look after the administration of Orissa. He was the son-in-law of Suja-Uddin. With the death of Taqi Khan, Orissa was relieved from the clutches of his oppressive rule. The coming of Murshid Quli Khan II offered a soothing balm to the maladies faced by the people of Orissa during Taqi Khan's rule.

With his arrival, Murshid Quli Khan II wanted to be popular among the people of Orissa. He revived the worship of Lords in the grand temple at Puri under the leadership of the king of Khurda. Now, there was influx of pilgrims from all corners of India to Puri. By this nobel acts, he incurred the good will of the people of this land. However, his rule was very short in Orissa. He fell a prey to the internal squabble of the royal family at Murshidabad and left Orissa for good. The circumstances have been described below.

The death of Nawab Suja-Uddin in 1739 A.D. led his son Sarfaraz Khan to succeed his father. In 1740 A.D., he was defeated and killed in the battle of Giria by Alivardi Khan, one of the trusted officers of Suja-Uddin. To secure his position, Alivardi wanted to put an end to all the followers and supporters of Sarfaraz among whom the name of Murshid Quli Khan II figured prominently. To subdue him, Alivardi raised a grand army. Aided and advised by Mirza Baqar, (son-in-law of Murshid Quli II) Murshid Quli proceeded to combat with the army of Alivardi.

In 1741, the battle took place between the two groups near Phulwari beyond the river Budhabalanga. Victory was to kiss the feet of Murshid Quli II but at this juncture, his miltary officers like Mukhail Ali Khan and Muqarrab Khan made treachery and went to the side of Alivardi. Though Mirza Baqar, with his trusted soldiers fought valiantly, he fell wounded in the battle field. Murshid Quli acted promptly and with his wounded son-in-law and trusted friends, he rushed towards Balasore. In the ship of his merchant friend Haji Moshin, Murshid Quli and his party reached Masulipatam. Birakishoredeva, the king of Khurda rescued the family of Murshid Quli Khan II and sent all of them to Icchapuram. There Anwar-ud-din Khan received that family and Mirza Baqar brought them to Masulipatam. Now, Orissa passed into the hands of Alivardi Khan.

Alivardi Khan

With the victory at Phulwari, Orissa was virtually under the grip of Alivardi. Without following Murshid Quli Khan II, Alivardi proceeded towards Cuttack to capture the family of Murshid Quli. However, that family had been rescued by the Raja of Khurda. The fort of Barabati and the wealth abandoned by the family or Murshid Quli fell in his hands. Alivardi appointed Sayyid Ahmad as the Governor of Orissa and left Gujar Khan, one of his trusted generals to assist the Governor in discharging the administration.

Sayyid Ahmad was never a good ruler. He extracted money from the local zamindars and curtailed the salary of his soldiers. By his indulgence in wine and women, he earned a bad name in Orissa. At this juncture, Mirza Baqar, the son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan II invaded Orissa with his soldiers and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Sayyid Ahmad. The people of Cuttack supported Mirza Baqar so also some soldiers in the army of Ahmad who were loyal to Murshid Quli II. Sayyid Ahmad with his family was confined inside the fort of Barabati. By this, the unpopularity of Alivardi increased to a greater extent. With revengeful mind, he stepped towards Cuttack to deal with Mirza Baqar and rescue Sayyid Ahmad. A toe fight took place between them in Cuttack and Mirza Baqar fled away from the battle field towards the Deccan. Sayyid Ahmad was rescued. Alivardi punished the local chiefs who had rendered their help to Mirza Baqar. He appointed Shaikh Masum as deputy Governor of Orissa and left for Murshidabad. However, his administrative arrangement in Orissa failed utterly with the invasion of the Marathas. At last, Alivardi failed to check the Maratha inroad and Orissa passed into the hands of the Marathas in 1751 A.D.

Administration of the Naib Nazims

The Mughal system of revenue administration under went a change in Orissa during Murshid Quli Khan's *Subahdarship*. For the administrative point of view, he separated Midnapur from the *Subah* of Orissa. He made revenue settlement in six *Sarkars* namely. Jaleswar, Remuna, Basta, Golapara, Malghetia and Mazkuri. He appointed honest and efficient revenue officers to collect revenue. He measured waste lands and offered them to the farmers. He also advanced *taqavi* (agriculture) loans to farmers for the improvement of lands. He imposed two new imports (*abwabs*) namely, *Abwab Jaffar Khan and Abwab Khasnawisi,* Suja-Uddin Muhammad Khan imposed four kinds of *abwabs* upon the people of Orissa *Viz.Nazar Pooniah* (Annual presents from the zamindars), *Baha-i-Khilat* (price for robes offered to zamindars), *Pustabandi* (For upholding the river banks near Lalbagh and the fort of Murshidabad) and *Russom Nazarat* (realisation from rural area). All these above four *abwabs* came under the main head *Zar Mathaut*. He also collected three other *abwabs* like *Nazrana Mokurrari* (fixed amount paid by zamindar for the privileges he enjoyed), *Mathut-Fil-Khana* (contribution to meet the feeding expense of elephants of *Nazim* and *Diwan* of Murshidabad). Murshid Quli II was very liberal in collecting revenue. He exempted many *abwabs* to the zamindars and earned good name.

During the rule of the Naib Nazims of Bengal, the administration of God Jagannath also received attention. During Taqi Khan, a great disturbance took place in the management of temple administration. The idols of the Gods were removed from the temple and were taken to Banapur and subsequently to Tekkali. However, during Murshid Quli Khan II's period, the idols were brought back to the temple and the pilgrims visited the temple in large number. After Taqi Khan, others did not pay much attention to it.

During the rule of the Naib Nazims, the Muslim monuments were built in Cuttack and Balasore. Local zamindars were instructed to look after the festivals of the Hindus and Muslims as well. This clearly shows that religious harmony was maintained perfectly in Orissa during the Naib Nazims of Orissa. Balasore, Jajpur and Cuttack were the main centres of the Islamic faith and their improvement was made during the Naib Nazims of Orissa.

The local participation in the administration was a general feature during this period. In military administration, the soldires were recruited from this land. The local officers were chosen on the basis of their efficiency who collected revenue and maintained peace in the locality. Very often the local zamindars were empowered to look after the local problems and to solve the crisis in their own locality. In toto, in discharging the administration efficiently, the Naib Nazims of Bengal depended, to a greater extent, upon the people of this land.

It is noticed that the incapability on this part of the Mughal rulers led the Naib Nazims of Bengal to look after the administration of Orissa. Close to the boarder of Orissa, from Bengal, they could pay close attention towards the administration that prevailed in this land. At times, they suppressed the rebellion and warned the local chiefs of Orissa for dire consequences. The people of Orissa wanted to be free from the clutch of Alivardi Khan. At that time, the appearance of the Marathas in the political scenario of Orissa fulfilled their desire and Orissa passed into the hands of the Marathas.

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Chapter – 20

ORISSA UNDER THE MARATHAS

At the twilight of the Mughal rule in India, the Nazims of Bengal built up their own castle in Orissa. With the disintegration of the Mughal empire, the Marathas became powerful and wanted to assert their power all over the country. The Bhonsles of Nagpur under Raghuji gave a new guidance to the Marathas over Orissa thereby directly bringing a rift with Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal. In the long run, the Marathas became successful in establishing their sway over Orissa. Their rule in this land from 1751 A.D. to 1803 A.D. made people discontent and discharged venom and vitriole in their mind against the Maratha administration.

Causes of Maratha invasion

The causes of the Maratha invasion of Orissa were not too far to seek. Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur failed to dominate over Sahu due to the superior strength of Baji Rao and contemplated plunder in the direction of north-east of his dominion. His desire was strengthened when Mir Habib, being expelled by Nawab Alivardi Khan of Orissa, stepped towards Nagpur and extended his help to Raghuji thereby encouraging him to invade Orissa. At last, the willingness of his Prime Minister Bhaskar Pandit prompted him to launch an attack on Orissa.

Occupation of Barabati fort

By that time, Orissa was under the control of Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal. Bhaskar Pandit, with the help of Mir Habib, crossed Baramula Pass and entered into Orissa with a grand Maratha army. The galloping march of the Maratha cavalry stuck terror in the minds of Nawab's army. Within no time, on 19 April 1742, Barabati fort fell in the clutch of the Marathas. Mir Habib, through Midnapur, marched to Burdwan and then to Murshidabad to settle the score with Alivardi. Though Murshidabad was saved from the plunder of the Marathas by the payment of a huge amount of money to Bhaskar Pandit by Alivardi Khan, the fate had reserved certain misfortunes for it in near future.

Alivardi reoccupation of Cuttack

With the return of Bhaskar Pandit, Alivardi Khan appealed to the shadowy Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah to render him possible help for meeting the Maratha menace. The emperor intimated the plights of Alivardi to the Nawab of Oudh and Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao of Poona who helped Alivardi to recapture Cuttack by defeating the Maratha contingents when Bhaskar Pandit had left for Nagpur via Chilika with the huge booty which he had obtained from plunder.

Alliverdi's treachery

When Alivardi came back to Murshidabad, Raghuji Bhonsle fell upon Orissa like a meteor and proceeded towards Bengal to realise *Chauth* from Alivardi after plundering Cuttack. At this juncture, Alivardi was forced to form an alliance with Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao by paying him twenty-two lakhs of rupees to save him from the clutch of Raghuji which compelled Raghuji to retreat his steps towards Nagpur. However, a treaty between the Bhonsles and the Peshwas again brought back the Maratha troops to Orissa under the leadership of Bhaskar Pandit who was invited by Alivardi to a meeting at Mankora with his twenty-two generals and all of them were treacherously killed with their leader. This made the Marathas fearful who returned back to Nagpur immediately.

Marathas and the reoccupation of Cuttack

This treacherous deed of Alivardi Khan made Raghuji furious who led his vigorous campaign against Orissa. On 12 May, 1745, the fort of Barabati fell in the hands of Raghuji. Of course, Raghuji was defeated at the hands of Alivardi. While retreating towards Nagpur, he instructed Mir Habib to bring the possession of Orissa under the Maratha control. As a loyal servant, Mir Habib proceeded towards Bengal with his troops and occupied Midnapur. Alivardi appointed Sayyid Ahmad Khan as the Governor of Orissa who defeated the Marathas at Midnapur.

At this critical juncture Januji, the son of Raghuji came to the aid of Mir Habib. The rebellious Afghan chiefs supported Januji. Alivardi could not recover Midnapur from the Marathas. In March 1749, Alivardi took the final decision to oust the Marathas from Orissa. Being unopposed by Mir Habib, Alivardi proceeded upto Cuttack and captured it. He then appointed Shaikh Abdul Subhan as the Governor of Orissa. Only after one week of his departure, Mir Habib came out from the hidings and reoccupied Cuttack.

Peace between Alivardi and the Marathas

This shocking news made Alivardi more fragile. By that time, Alivardi was old, weak and feeble. Taking a grand army of 40,000 soldiers, Mir Habib proceeded towards Bengal. Alivardi gathered his army to oust the Marathas from Bengal. The Marathas resorted to the *guerilla* warfare. In order to teach them a lesson, Alivardi established a permanent military outpost at Midnapur under the command of Ali Quli Khan. He sent his grandson Siraj-ud-Daullah to deal with the Marathas and he chased them as far as Balasore. The Marathas left Alivardi in a cross-road of puzzle. When Alivardi was at Midnapur, the Marathas attacked upon Murshidabad. When Alivardi marched towards Burdwan, the Marathas fell upon Midnapur. Owing to the old age, Alivardi was needing respite from warfare. Mirjafar and Mirza Saleh negotiated from the side of the Nawab and Mir Habib respectively and at last, peace was concluded in 1751. The terms of the treaty were as such :

Mir Habib was to be regarded as a servant of Alivardi Khan (the Naib Nazim) to rule over Orissa on his behalf.

He would pay the surplus revenue of the province as arrears to Raghuji's troops.

Twelve lakhs of rupees should annually be paid to Raghuji on condition that "the Marathas would not set their foot within the dominions of Alivardi."

River Sonamukhi (Suvarnarekha) which runs near Balasore was to form the demarcating line between the boundaries of Orissa and Bengal. The treaty between Mir Habib and Alivardi was highly politically motivated. Highlighting its importance, prof. B.C. Ray writes :

> "The treaty was a triangular compromise amongest three sets of forces in the name of Raghuji, Mir Habib and Alivardi, Raghuji for money, Mir Habib for honour and revenge, and Alivardi for rest without being unmindful for retaining his nominal overlordship over Orissa."

The treaty, as it appears, established the authority of the Marathas over Orissa. Alivardi, though appeared as the overlord of Orissa, he was not so in actual practice. He remained under the clutch of the Marathas who, with the gradual march of time, established their authority over Orissa independent of the Nawabs of Bengal. The Maratha governors of Orissa are as follows :

Mir Habib (1751-1752)

A reference has already been given under which circumstance Mir Habib met Raghuji when Alivardi Khan killed Murshid Quli Khan II. Right from that time, he determined to avenge the death of his master Murshid Quli. Keeping that end in view, he sided with Raghuji till the treaty was concluded between him and Alivardi Khan in 1751. The treaty was concluded in such a manner that Mir Habib was indispensable for both the parties who recognised him as the Governor of Orissa. On the one hand, the Marathas choose him to get back their arrear revenue and on the other, Alivardi got a respite from the turbulent politics of Orissa.

Mir Habib was stable man and as *Subahdar*, he took prudent decision whenever required. For example, after the death of Ramachandradeva II of Khurda, Padmanavadeva of Patia appealed Mir Habib who decided to place him on the throne of Khurda. However, when the courtiers convinced him regarding the legitimacy of Bhagirathi Kumar who termed himself as Birakishoradeva, later on, Mir Habib ungrudgingly accepted it.

As an administrator, Mir Habib always enforced strict discipline in the field of administration. For successful implementation of his plan, he kept an Afghan force and a Maratha force ready under his command. He had promised to pay the Marathas an annual tribute of rupees four lakhs. He also received twelve lakhs of rupees from Bengal. Unfortunately, he fell into the wrath of Januji who could not get satisfactory explanation from him regarding the alleged misappropriation of a certain amount of rupees that led to the death of Mir Habib.

Mirza Saleh (1752-1759)

Mirza Saleh, the nephew of Mir Habib, was instrumental in the treaty that took place in 1751 between his uncle and Alivardi. When he succeeded Mir Habib as the Governor of Orissa in 1752, he found himself between two giant masters, Alivardi, on the one hand and Raghuji, on the other. However, he was not a man to be sandwitched between the two contending forces, rather, he wanted to outwit both the parties. When Raghuji demanded more money from him, he committed to pay four laks rupees more and demanded the same from Alivardi who denied to pay that amount.This led Saleh to coerce the people of Orissa occasionally for realisation of more money and to collect some money from the British merchants who had established their factories at Hariharpur, Pipli and Balasore. The Britishers also offered suitable presentations to Mirza Saleh for the prosperity in their business.

With the death of Alivardi, his grandson Siraj-ud-daulah ascended the throne of Bengal in 1756. The new Nawab instructed Saleh not to render any help to the British people. Though Saleh showed his allegiance to Siraj, he secretly helped the British. When British factories in Bengal fell one after another, their factories in Orissa grew more and more by the blessings of Saleh. Further, defying the order of Siraj, he helped the Britishers secretely in raising 1,000 gunmen that made their position secure in Orissa. He not only helped them but conspired with them to oust Siraj from the throne of Bengal. When that was detected, he took refuge with Raghuji at Nagpur who did not recommend his cowardice activities. During the absence of Saleh, his son Dadar Ali remained in charge of the administration of Orissa.

In the meanwhile, Siraj was killed in 1757 after his defeat in the battle of Plassey. Dadar Ali, failing to discharge his duty, was imprisoned by the Marathas. Mirza Saleh returned to Cuttack and resumed his charge. Now, Mirzafar, the new Nawab, stopped the payment of *Chauth* to the Marathas and this brought discredit to Saleh. So he was forced to resign in 1759. He was the last Muslim *Subahdar* of Orissa to serve the cause of both the Marathas of Nagpur and Nawab of Bengal. After him, Orissa was under the direct control of the Maratha administration.

Sheo Bhatt Sathe (1760-1764)

Sheo Bhatt Sathe was the first Maratha *Subahdar* in Orissa. With the death of Raghuji Bhonsle, his son Januji ascended the throne of Nagpur. He appointed Sheo Bhatt Sathe as the *Subahdar* of Orissa. Sheo took over the charge of the province from Chimna Sau.

After the assumption of power as the Governor of Orissa, the first task before Sheo Bhatt Sathe was to collect *Chauth* from the Nawab of Bengal. By that time, Mirjafar had been replaced by Mir Qasim as the Nawab of Bengal. Sheo Bhatt demanded Chauth from him and Mir Qasim, could not pay any heed to that. At this Sheo attacked Bengal and plundered Burdwan. He further claimed that Midnapur and Burdwan were under the Marathas as parts of Orissa. In 1761, his attack to plunder Bengal was foiled by the British garrison. The Britishers took precautionary measure by stationing British troops in Midnapur and Bengal. For that reason, the Marathas could not succeed in their mission. This enraged Sheo Bhatt who kept Kushal Chand, the British agent at Cuttack, under custody.

Now the Britishers persuaded Mir Qasim to drive out the Marathas from Orissa. Mir Qasim kept mum and started negotiation with Sheo Bhatt assuring him the payment of *Chauth* if Sheo extended his cooperation to the former. To this end, Qasim sent a *sanad* of Jaleswar and Midnapur to Sheo Bhat who sent his own younger brother Bhaskar Pandit and Butl Khan to march to Jaleswar for assisting Mir Qasim. This alarmed the British East India Company which sent its agent Aga Muhammad Ali, an inhabitant of Balasore and Ghulam Mustafa, the company's *gumastah* at Balasore to meet the Maratha governor for not going against the Britishers. Vansittart, the British governor of Bengal confirmed that the arrears of *Chauth* would be given to the Marathas if they would side with the company against Mir Qasim. This led to Sheo Bhatt to discontinue his allegiance to Mir Quasim. In the battle of Buxar, Mir Qasim was defeated in 1764. After victory in that battle, the Britishers befooled Sheo Bhatt not paying any arrear of *Chauth*.

As Sheo Bhatt failed to pay his arrear to Januji, he was dismissed in 1764. Januji appointed Chimna Sau as the Governor of Orissa. Sheo Bhatt was imprisoned on 12 April, 1764 and sent to Nagpur. After being pardoned, Sheo tried his best to regain the governorship of Orissa but he failed stupendously in his mission. He played the game of double dealing with Mir Qasim and so; he was paid back in his own coins.

Bhawani Pandit (1764-1768)

The authority of Chimna Sau was challenged by Sheo Bhatt. Sathe. So, the former sought the help from Nagpur to quell the uprising of the zamindars instigated by Sheo Bhatt. Accordingly, Bhawani Pandit reached Orissa with a grand army of five thousand cavalry in July, 1764 and took over the charge as the Governor of Orissa. He took drastic action against the refractory zamindars of Dhenkanal, Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj. Being subdued, they submitted to Bhawani Pandit and paid handsomely for the maintenance of the Maratha troops in Orissa.

The threat of Sheo Bhatt invade Orissa prompted the Britishers to ask Bhawani Pandit to send some troops for suppressing Sheo. Sheo helped them in this matter. He entered into a treaty with Lord clive by which he promised to hand over the salt produced from the salt lands won by the zamindars of Balasore and neighbouring districts to the British merchants only. Through him, negotiation took place between the British and Januji for the payment of *Chauth*. Finally, when Mir Zainul Abadin reached the court of Jaunji at Nagpur on behalf of the British, he expressed his resertment against the government of Bhawani Pandit. At this, Januji became angry and dismissed Bhawani Pandit for his inefficiency in the realisation of *Chauth*.

Shambhaji Ganesh (1768-1770)

The motive behind the appointment of Shambhaji Ganesh as the *Subahdar* of Orissa was only to collect *Chauth* from Bengal. He strengthened his friendship with the British with a hope to realise *Chauth*. He offered 50,000 Maratha horses to the British, if the latter wanted to utilise them. Further, he allowed the British troops under the command of Major Achmuty to march through Orissa. The negotiation for *Chauth* which had started in a very congenial atmosphere between Shambhaji and the British ended in a failure because the latter did not help Januji in his conflict with the Peshwa. During his period, there was news of the arrival of alleged French ships of the coast of Ganjam for which the British authority misunderstood him. The purpose for which Shambhaji Ganesh was sent, could never be fulfilled. However, Shambhaji had taken keen interest in encouraging the pilgrims from all parts of India to visit the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri. He also took steps to remove the oppression of the *amla* over the *mutassadis*. He died in September, 1770.

Babuji Naik (1771-1773)

After the death of Shambhaji Ganesh, Rajaram Pandit remained in the charge of Governor of Orissa for a short while. Babuji Naik was sent as the *Subahdar* of Orissa in 1770. He continued his friendly relation with the British. Allyn, a servant of the company and in charge of a factory at Cuttack had lent money to many persons. He appealed Babuji for the realisation of the same and was helped by the latter in that matter. Further, as there was shortage of grains at Calcutta, he instructed Abdullah Khan, the *faujdar* of Balasore to sell rice for the company when he was requested by the Englishmen. The Britishers also showed their cordial gesture by providing the assistance of an English battalion to Babuji Naik for suppressing the border zamindars who created distrubance. His tenure as the *Subahdar* of Orissa was peaceful.

Madhoji Hari (1773-1777)

The governorship of Madhoji Hari witnessed a new kind of development in the coastal strips of Balasore and Cuttack. During his period, there were many ship-wrecks, particularly in the middle part of the coastal Orissa like Kujang, Kanika and Ali (Aul). The people of these area were plundering the wrecked ships with the full support of the local kings who ill-treated and sometimes, imprisoned the ship-wrecked persons. Keeping this in view, the British authorities appealed to the Raja of Nagpur to provide safety and security to the merchants, travellers and wayfarers and award punishment to the king of Kujang who was very notorious. As a remedial measure, the British authority wanted a *sanad* from the Maratha chief of Nagpur granting them "a perpetual possession of a strip of land which lies between the river Kanika and Mahanadi running in line with the sea coast." Further, the power vested on the king of Kujang was to be taken away and delegated to the British.

The Maratha chief of Nagpur did not agree to the first proposal of the Britishers. However, he ordered Madhoji Hari to enquire the matter relating to the king of Kujang. When summoned by the *Subahdar*, the king expressed his sorrow for the acts done in the past and thus, was pardoned by Madhoji. This act of Madhoji was grossly disliked by the Raja of Nagpur and he was recalled from Orissa.

Rajaram Pandit (1778-1793)

The governorship of Rajaram Pandit in Orissa witnessed the Anglo-Maratha conflict during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings. The Raja of Nagpur had joined with Poona, Hyderabad and Mysore, forming an anti-British confederacy. The conflict with these four powers demanded the movement of British army to Madras via Orissa to deal with Hyder Ali of Mysore. The Bhonsle chief of Nagpur thought it prudent not to have a clash with the British power. Accordingly he instructed Rajaram Pandit to extract *Chauth* from the British authorities, if the Governor-General asked for the passage of the British troops through Orissa. Warren Hastings dispatched a detachment under Colonel Pearse upto

Balasore in 1781 and sent Anderson to obtain necessary permission from the Maratha Governor of Orissa for the same purpose through the payment of twelve lakhs of rupees. Rajaram Pandit went personally to Calcutta to settle the amount with the Governor-General and demanded twenty-five lakhs of rupees as loan with the immediate payment of twelve lakhs. After due negotiation, a sum of rupees thirteen lakhs along with a loan of rupees ten lakhs was handed over to him. With the help of some Maratha officers like Harihar Mahadeo and Magun Choudhury, Colonel Pearse marched with his army through Orissa and crossed the border of Ganjam, receiving an assistance of 2,000 horses from the Marathas. This act of Rajaram brought British closer to the Bhonsles of Nagpur.

Rajaram Pandit was very firm in his action. After receiving information from Wilkinson, the British resident at Balasore regarding the oppression of the Maratha *faujdar* Bhawani Das Choudhury over a merchant of Barabati named Gangadhar, Rajaram dismissed him. In his place, Murar Pandit was sent as the *faujdar* of Balasore. Further, he took steps to crush the recalcitrant zamindars. Snodgrass, the British Chief of Ganjam, informed Rajaram Pandit that Balarama Maharatha a refractory land-holder of the British company at Ganjam absconded and entered into the territory of King Divyasimhadeva, who gave asylum to him Rajaram Pandit seized him and his followers in the neigh bourhood of Cuttack. Divyasimhadeva, then, was handed over to Snodgrass. Of course, Balarama Maharatha tried to escape from the hands of Snodgrass and was killed. However, Rajaram Pandit chastised the king of Khurda who humbly submitted before him.

Not only Rajaram Pandit was shrewd diplomat but he was equally a good administrator. He brought all the refractory forces under his control. He also showed a great deal of interest for the influx of pilgrims to Puri from all parts of India.The prior practice of collecting revenues through hereditary *talukdars* was disbanded and he appointed his own men for the same purpose. He discharged his duty very well as the *Subahdar* of Orissa and breathed his last in 1793.

Sadashiv Rao (1793-1803)

The death of Rajaram Pandit led his son Sadashiv Rao to be the *Naib Subahdar* of Orissa. He was quite friendly to the British like his father. With abolition of the British Residency at Balasore, Barabati slipped away from the clutch of British East India Company. However, Sadashiv Rao showed his cordial gesture to the company and offered Barabati to them which was attached to the British factory.

Sadashiv also suppressed the local Rajas who acted against the British. In 1795, a mutinous British battalion refused to lay down their arms and were attacked by another battalion which imprisoned some sepoys of the former battalion. Other sepoys of the mutinous battalion took shelter with the king of Mayurbhanj, who did not deliver them to the British when demanded. At this stage, the British authorities approached Sadashiv Rao. Sadashiv wrote a letter to the king of Mayurbhanj who obeyed the order and drove out the rebellious sepoys from his territory.

Sadashiv Rao also facilitated the march of British troops from Bengal to Madras. His cordial gesture encouraged the British to improve thier postal system in Orissa. The

British correspondence from Calcutta to Puri increased considerably. However, his friendly relation with the English people never marred his spirit to fight for a just cause. When Divyasimhadeva II, the king or Khurda died, there was contest for the throne of Khurda between Mukundadeva, the son of Divyasimhadeva and Shyamsundar, the second son of Birakishoradeva. Though the Britishers helped Shyamsundar, Sadashiv opposed it tooth and nail. At last, Mukundadeva asserted his legitimate claim over the throne of Khurda.

However, the British people betrayed the friendship of Sadashiv. Lord Wellesley was an imperialist out and out. He wanted to engulf the coastal strip of Orissa under the British hegemony. Taking the absence of Sadashiv Rao from Cuttack in October 1803, the British General Harcourt occupied coastal Orissa. Thus, ended the rule of the Marathas over this land.

Maratha Administration

The maratha administration in Orissa was a replica of the Mughal administration. They wanted to retain the fabric of Mughal pattern. However, massive exploitation by the Maratha Governors made their rule unpopular in Orissa.

Division of the empire

The Maratha administration in Orissa was a legacy of the Mughal rule. The Maratha possessions in Orissa were bounded by sea on the east, the province of Chhatisgarh on the west, the Chilka lake and undivided Ganjam district on the south and Jaleswar, Midnapur and Birbhum on the north. Orissa was divided into two political division-*viz,* the *Garjat* consisting of twenty-four tributary chieftains and *Mughalbandi*, the coastal tract extending from Suvarnarekha in the north to the Chilka lake in the south.

Administration in Garjat

Among the twenty-four feudatories, the most powerful was the king of Khurda, the Rajas of Kanika, Dhenkanal,Ranapur, Baramba, Athagarh, Kujang, Aul (Ali) and Mayurbhanj had also retained their relative importance during the regime of the Marathas. The Maratha governors did not poke their nose in the internal administration of those chiefs. The feudatories were also not regular in their payment to the Maratha *Subahdars*.

Administration in Mughalbandi

The *Mughalbandi* was divided into 150 *Paraganas* under the management of 32 *Amils*. Each *Paragana* was subdivided into two, three, four or more *Mahalas* or allotments. The *Amil* or Revenue Commissioner was responsible for the assessment of revenue and entrusting charge to different officers for the collection of revenue. The hereditary revenue collectors under him were termed as *Chaudhuries*, *Kanungoes*, or *Talukdars* each in charge of a *taluk* or sub-division. These officers were given rent-free lands known as *Nankar*. Their duty was not only to collect revenue from the subjects but to keep them happy and contended. The settlement known as *Hustabud* was prevalent. The demand of the government was based on the amount of land actually under cultivation.

Millitary administration

The *Subahdar* was the head of both civil and military administration of this land. The *Kiladar* served under him who was in charge of the fort of Barabati at Cuttack. Under the control of the *Subahdar*, there were some *faujdars* who controlled some *chaukis* (out-posts). A *thanadar* was the head of a *chauki*. The *Amil* was empowered to investigate and try both civil and criminal cases.

Expert of Paddy

Like the present day, paddy was produced in huge amount and was a great item of export to Bengal and Madras through small ports of Golrah, Harishpur, Bishenpur and Manikpatna. Salt was plentily manufactured along the sea coast of Orissa.

Trade link

During the Maratha rule, Orissa was well connected through roads with Bengal, Madras and Nagpur. From Cuttack, a well-known road connected bengal through Bhadrak, Balasore, Jaleswar and Midnapur. There were two roads from Nagpur to Sambalpur. Madras was connected through a road from Cuttack passing through Puri, Ganjam, Burgun, Tekkali, Kalingapatanam, Chicacole and Visakhapatanam.

Management or Jagannath temple

In the field of religion, the Marathas brought regeneration. The worship of God Jagannath and the maintenance of the grand temple at Puri was the prime duty of the Maratha *Subahdars*. Puri, a deserted place during the rule of the Mughals, was studded with pilgrims from all over India who came to pay homage to the God of Gods. The Marathas managed the temple efficiently and the pilgrims faced no difficulty at Puri. No doubt, pilgrim tax was collected by the Marathas but a large slice of that income was spent in different festivals of the temple. Under Maratha patronage, the fame of God Jagannath spread in the nook and corner of India.The Marathas opened *Annachhatras* (free food-distribution camps) and granted rent-free lands to the Brahmins. They offered money to monks and offered suitable grants to the *mathas* for the performance of various festivals.

The Maratha rule in Orissa was, by and large, military in nature. The one and single aim of the Bhonsles of Nagpur was to treat this land as a milch cow and to extract much more revenue from the people. The frequent change of governors made the administration of this land precarious and ustable. Anarchy prevailed and people gradually became disinterested towards the Maratha rule. The frequent march of the British troops through Orissa germinated a fear psychosis in the minds of the people. Further, the extraction of more and more revenue by the Maratha governors enraged them who hated the Maratha rule over this land. That was perhaps, one of the chief reasons for which the people welcomed British hegemony over this land and wanted to expell the Marathas. One thing made the Maratha rule unique in Orissa and that was the maintenance of the temple of God Jagannath at Puri, which was so ruthlessly ignored by the Mughals in the past.

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Chapter – 21

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF ORISSA

The Britishers came to India with a Bible and a pistol inside. The first scene of the British victory over Indian soil which was inaugurated at the Battle of Plassey, acted as a booster for the spread of British hegemony over this country. Orissa, a part of India, was not exception to it. The mal-administration of the Maratha *Subahdar*, their atrocities and exploitation had made the Maratha rule quite unacceptable on the part of the people of Orissa. Right from the days of Robert Clive, with the grant of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company, the Britishers dreamt of building their own castle on the soils of Orissa. The weak and feeble Maratha administration offered a very good opportunity to the Britishers for the fulfilment of their desire. And thus, Orissa was occupied by the Britishers in 1803.

Causes – weakness of the Marathas

The causes of the British occupation of Orissa were not too far to seek. The internal strife among the Bhonsles of Nagpur after the death of Januji contributed a lot to make Maratha rule intensely weak. This had an impact on the Maratha *Subahdars* of Orissa. Their powers gradually dwindled away and sometimes, they failed to get adequate help from Nagpur. Even in suppressing the refractory zamindars they had to seek the British help.

Tyranny of the Zamindars

Exploiting the opportunity of the weakness of Maratha administration in Orissa, the local zamindars became whimscal. They indulged themselves in various lawless activities. Their tyranny over the subjects knew no bound. A great chaos prevailed the political scenario of Orissa. The zamindars exploited the people whose condition became horrible and grievous. Their miserable plights aggravated and they drank tea cup of misery. They needed an opportunity to get rid of the Marathas who failed miserably to quell the zamindars.

Factors building by British in Orissa

With the grant of *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company in 1765, the Britishers realised the importance of Orissa from the economic point of view. When the Britishers built up their factories at Hariharpur, Pipli and Balasore, they felt the necessity of this province from the commercial point of view. The Britishers also obtained permission from the Marathas to have their monopoly over the manufacturing of salt in Orissa. The trade-routes, which passed from Cuttack to Bengal, Madras and Nagpur, facilitated their business to a greater extent.

Military importance

The British authorities felt the importance of Orissa from the military point of view. As stated earlier, Warren Hastings had to give *Chauth* and loan in advance to the Maratha governors for the passage of British army from Calcutta to Madras through Orissa. With the coming of Lord Wellesley as the Governor-General of India in 1768, the cold touch of the British imperialism was greatly felt by the Indian powers. He took no time to annex Orissa and included it in the British empire.

Occupation of Ganjam

With the grant of Dewani in 1765, Lord Clive obtained from emperor Shah Alam the Northern Circars consisting of Chicacole, Rajahmudry, Ellore and Guntur as free gifts in which the present undivided Ganjam district was included. The British East India Company also got Midnapur which was a part of Orissa. Thus, the British authorities acquired Oriya speaking tracts, both in South and in the North. This facilitated them to conquer Orissa with ease.

The Agreement of 1765

The *firman* issued to the British East India Company on 12 August, 1765, was put into practice on 12 November, 1766 when another treaty was concluded between Nizam Ali, the ruler of Hyderabad and Colonel Forde. Accordingly, letters were issued to all zamindars of Northern Circars suggesting them to regard the British East India Company as their sovereign in future. Henceforth, they should pay their rents and show respect to the British authorities.

Cotsford's investigation

In this way, the Northern Circars consisting of the Chicacole circar of which the undivided Ganjam district then formed a part, came under the British occupation. The English administrative officers moved from Madras immediately to secure Ganjam and Icchapur. Cotsford, an English engineer, was appointed as the Resident of Ganjam by an order in the council passed on 2 December, 1766. Cotsford viewed the political situation of the area and found that territories lying north of Visakhapatnam, were in a state of turmoil on account of the grand design of Narayanadeva of Paralakhemindi. He intimated this fact to Madras.

Dealing with Narahandeva

The Madras Government now wanted to deal with Narayanadeva scom and contempt. Colonel Peach was sent from Masulipatam to deal with that refractory chief. At this arrival, Narayanadeva became panic-stricken and fled away from Paralakhemindi, after being defeated at the hands of the British troops at Jalmur in May 1768. He then went to Maliahs and was forced to take shelter there. The administration of Paralakhimindi was entrusted upon his Dewan. Cotsford safely arrived and took over his charge as the Resident in July 1768. In this way, Ganjam was annexed to Madras province and came under the sway of the British administration.

Occupation of Puri

The British then occupied Puri. For that they adopted the following steps.

Devotion towards Jagannath

Lord Wellesley wanted to capture Puri and Cuttack by sheer display of his diplomacy. Letters were despatched to the feudatories of Orissa, conveying them that it was the desire of Lord Jagannath to oust the Marathas from the land by the Britishers who would rule there. The desire of the Governor-General was conveyed to the people that it was the time to free the land from the oppression and tyranny of the Marathas. The priests of the Puri Jagannath temple were also assured that they would be respected by the Britishers and the British authorities would follow the policy of nonintervention so far as the temple administration was concerned.

Bribe to the Marathas

When the people of Orissa were psychologically won over, it was not a great task for the British authorities to occupy the land. In the next turn, Wellesley resorted to a filthy practice like bribing the Maratha officers handsomely. Letters of commitment regarding the payment of high amount as bribe were sent to Bhanuji Pandit, the *Naib* of Cuttack, Haribansa Ray, the *Dewan,* Balaji Kuanr, the Commander-in-Chief and Moro Pandit, the *Faujdar* for their help to the British force. Being confident of their support, Wellesley entrusted the task of conquering Puri and Cuttack to Lt. Colonel Campbell of 74 Regiment of the Northern division of the army under the Madras Government.

Campbell's strategy

As per the strategy, Campbell had to proceed to Puri from Ganjam. After the occupation of Puri, the fort of Barabati, a stronghold of the Marathas in Orissa was to be brought under the British control. Suddenly, after the conquest of the Barabati fort, a detachment was to be sent to Baramul Pass (near Baud) to remain alert for checking the advancement of the Maratha troops from Nagpur. The serious illness of Campbell, before the strategic operation, led Colonel Harcourt of the 12th Regiment to command the army against Puri and Cuttack.

Expedition of Harcourt

After assuming the responsibility on 11 September, 1803, Harcourt started his operation. He was accompanied by a civil officer named John Melville for organising civil administration, immediately after the occupation of the province. When the British troops left Ganjam, it was very difficult on their part to cross a narrow and hazardous path near the mouth of Chilka lake for reaching the Maratha territory in Orissa. It was only because Fateh Muhammad, the Maratha *Faujdar* was keeping his vigilant eyes over this strategic position. However, he was won over to the side of the British by heavy bribe. Now, the British troop crossed the narrow passage by the help of Fateh Muhammad and occupied Manikpatna.

From Manikpatna, Harcourt sent message to the priests of Puri for full protection of the temple of Lord Jagannath and not to infringe the facilities of the priests. The king of Khurda was also pursuaded for rendering his help to Harcourt on payment of rupees one lakh. The Raja of Khurda and the priests of the temple of God Jagannath were wanting to get rid of the Maratha rule. Unhesitatingly, they welcomed the British troops. Without any resistance, Puri was captured on 18 September, 1803. This encouraged Harcourt to a greater extent.

Occupation of Cuttack

The occupation of Puri emboidened the British to process further. They made elaborate plan to occupy Cuttack.

Expedition towards Cuttack

Making necessary arrangement to check the possible advancement of the Maratha army from Nagpur, Harcourt planned about his march to Cuttack. He posted Lieutenant Ogilvie and Major Fletcher at Manikpatna and Puri respectively to deal with the Maratha troops. On 24 Septemper, 1803 began the march of Harcourt towards Cuttack. Of course, the Marathas resisted the advancement of the British soldiers and it became toe in Ahmadpur and Mukundapur. However, the mobilisation of Harcourt's artillery force defeated the Marathas and by 10 October, 1803, the entire Cuttack town except fort Barabati was under the British clutch.

The fort of Barabati seemed invincible. Harcourt tried to bribe Shiv Prasad, the Maratha officer in charge of the Barabati fort but that mission failed stupendously. At the night of 13 October, 1803, the British troops set up a battery with one 12-pounder, two 6-pounder and 2 howitzers at a distance of 500 yards from the outer gate of the fort. The operation for the capitulation of fort Barabati began on 14 October, 1803, early in morning with heavy bombardment from all the canons at the outer gate of the fort which cracked. A group of soldiers and artillery-men led by Lt.Colonel Clyton rushed into the fort amidst heavy fire from the side of the Marathas and occupied it. The Marathas fled away from the fort out of fear and many of them were drawned in the ditch while trying to escape from the clutches of the British army. During the operation, only two European and three Indian soldiers were killed, sixteen European and thirteen Indian soldiers were injured. With the capitulation of the Barabati fort, ended the Maratha rule in Orissa. Major Forbes chases the Marathas was retreated to Nagpur through Baramula Pass, captured it by 2 November, 1803 and that closed the entry of the Marathas to Orissa for all time to come.

After possession of the Barabati fort, Lord Wellesley appointed a commission consisting of Harcourt, Melville and Earnst (the magistrate of Midnapur) to deal with the local chiefs who were the feudatories of the Marathe chiefs of Nagpur. After due negotiation, the Rajas and zamindars of Khurda, Kujang, Kanika, Aul, Mayurbhanj, Angul, Hindol, Darpan, Sukinda, Madhupur etc. acknowledged the British suzerainty and promised to pay the annual tribute to the British authority. In this amicable manner, the British power made the solution with the local chiefs at the beginning of its administration in Orissa.

Occupation of Balasore

In the meanwhile, the strategy of captain Morgan at Balasore met with success in driving away the Marathas. A detachment under his command in seven vessels, namely, Alexander, Anne, George, Fairdie, Lizard, Scourage and a gun boat reached Balaramgarhi after crossing river Budhabalanga. Balaramgarhi was a small Maratha port. Without any resistance, the Marathas allowed the British army to advance towards Balasore town. Although the British vessel sailed up the river with the help of local pilots, but their progress became very slow due to heavy rain. The rumour of the coming of Maratha troops to oppose the British army, prompted Morgan to proceed with two light canons and three hundred soldiers in small boats. The party, while marching inside the town, got feeble resistance from the Marathas. However, Morgan reached the British factory at night. He tried to bribe Moro Pandit, the Maratha *Faujdar* of Balasore but the Marathas got its small and imprisoned him.

Captain Morgan's mobilisation of the British troops, created panic in the hearts of the Marathas who fled away from the town at night on 21 September, 1803. In the next morning i.e. 22 September, 1803. Captain Morgan occupied Balasore with ease. He stationed the British troops outside the town to face possible Maratha attack. After a week, when the British position in Balasore became stable, Morgan sent a reinforcement to Soro under the leadership of Slye to drive out the Marathas. Futher, troops were sent to strengthen his hand. The Marathas were defeated at Soro and fled towards Bhadrak. Now, the path was clear from Balasore to Cuttack.

In the meanwhile, Colonel Ferguson marched from Jajeswar and reached Balasore 4 October, 1803. After that, he went Cuttack to join with Harcourt. Then began the operation on the north-east of the river Suvarnarekha. Captain Lamb, by the order of Colonel Fenwick, occupied Pataspur, Kamarda, Bhograi, Shahbandar, Jamukunda etc. and brought the zamindars under British control by applying both conciliatory and coercive policy. However, on 17 December, 1803, by the treaty of Deogaon, Raghuji Bhonsle ceded Cuttack and Balasore to the East India Company.

Conquest of Sambalpur

The occupation of Baramula Pass on 2 November, 1803 by Major Forbes prompted Harcourt to write conciliatory letters to the Rajas of Baud. Sonepur and Sambalpur to acknowledge the authority of the British which they cordially reciprocated by paying annual tributes. However, Sambalpur remained an exception to it . In January, 1804, Major Broughton conquered Sambalpur defeating Maratha Governor Tantia Pharnavis. He concluded friendly treaty with queen Ratnakumari of Sambalpur and the local chiefs of Raigarh, Gangapur, Bamara, Bonai etc. Broughton was, of course, ignorant about the treaty of Deogaon. Further, the treaty of Deogaon did not mention anything about Sambalpur. The local chiefs also never wanted to stay under the Maratha suzerainty of Nagpur. When pursuasion failed in connection with the handing over of Sambalpur to the British authority, Wellesley threatened Raghuji Bhonsle for war. This acted as tonic and the Maratha authority of Nagpur handedover Sambalpur to the British.

With the departure of Lord Wellesley, Governor, General Barlow, a pacifist, restored Sambalpur to the Marathas. Again, the Maratha rule was reimposed on Sambalpur from 1806 and continued till 1817. Again, the British authority drove away the Marathas from Sambalpur in 1817. From 1818 to 1849, the Chauhans ruled over Sambalpur. It was again annexed to the British authority in 1849 with the application of the Doctrine of Lapse of Lord Dalhousie.

Consequences

The British occupation of Orissa was a novel chapter in the history of modern Orissa. It brought many changes in the existing administrative set up.

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The British conquest of Orissa had several consequences. Though, Sambalpur did not remain under the clutch of the British authority constantly and was ruled by the Chauhans from 1818 to 1849. Ganjam, Puri, Cuttack and Balasore came under their direct authority. An effective administration was implemented in these coastal districts by the British government. For administrative convenience, the British-occupied territories of Orissa was divided into two divisions. River Mahanadi formed the dividing line between the two divisions. Puri was declared as the head quarters of the southern division and Balasore, that of the northern. However, in 1805, the two divisions were united and Puri remained as its head quarters. As the climate of Puri did not suit the British administrators, subsequently in 1816, Cuttack became the head quarters of the united division. In 1818, a Commissioner was appointed to look after the administration of the division that contained a Revenue Board, Board of Trade, Circuit Court and Court of Appeal. The division was divided into three districts *viz* , Balasore, Cuttack and Puri and right from 1819, these districts remained under Bangal Presidency till 1911.

Increase of Plights of the Orissa

The plights of the Oriyas were multiplied due to the British occupation of Orissa. They were excluded from the administrative posts of the British government. The Bengalies entered into Orissa and monopolised the government jobs due to their English education. The Oriyas were treated by the English men as stupid and were not entertained in governmental jobs beyond an orderly. The plight did not end there. Gradually, the Bengali zamindars came forward to purchase the zamindari of the Oriya zamindars who failed to pay their dues as per the 'Sunset Law'. Further, the Bengalies wanted to dominate over the Oriyas and wanted to extinct Oriya language from the schools in the nook and corner of Orissa. However, the Oriyas were able to revive their language under the leadership of Fakir Mohan Senapati, Madhusudan Das, Radhanath Ray and other celebrities. The Bengali clerks, attached to different offices, harassed the Oriyas and exploited them due to their ignorance.

The land revenue policy

The land revenue policy, adopted by the British authority, was not permanent in nature. As per the Regulation XII of 1805, the British government introduced short term settlements in the occupied territories of Orissa. These short term settlements continued in Orissa upto 1837. Though, there was a proposal of introducing permanent settlement in this land, it was never materialised. The zamindaries of Aul, Kanika, Kujang, Damapara, Madhupur, Darpana, Sukinda, Parikud, Patia etc. were settled with a fixed *jama*. Under this system, the peasants suffered a lot because, they retained no permanent authority over land due to the frequent change of the tenures of the proprietors. Further, the British authority enhanced the rate of land revenue arbitrarily which put both the zamindars and peasants in trouble. During natural calamities like flood, famine and draught etc., the British government was not lenient in collecting tax which made the condition of the peasants miserable.

The Plight of the Zamindars

Further, the Oriya zamindars who could not deposit their amount in time, there estates were sold in the Fort William at Calcutta and the Bengali zamindars purchased those estates. Those zamindars did not keep any touch with their estates in Orissa and appointed *amlas* to collect revenue who exploited the peasants. This economic exploitation of the peasants through the Bengali zamindars, more obviously, by the *amlas*, enraged the people of Orissa. The British authorities also committed a blunder by fixing revenue on the rent free service lands in Khurda. This infuriated the Paiks of Khurda to be rebellious against the British rule.

The Salt monopoly

Another thing, the British government wanted to introduce in Orissa, was the monopoly in the production and sale of salt. Salt, which was a free and essential commodity for the people of Orissa, now became an economic commodity. Further, the sale of salt by the British government in higher price broke the backbone of the common people of Orissa who, now, considered the British people worse than the Marathas.

Abolition of cowrie currency

Another result of the British occupation of Orissa was the abolition of cowrie currency. During medieval period and even, during the Maratha rule in Orissa cowrie formed the currency of this land. However, after the occupation of Orissa, the British government wanted to abolish cowrie currency. The government wanted to collect revenue in terms of silver *siccas* which was prevalent in Bengal. So, gradually, cowrie was replaced from the market and nobody preferred to have transaction in terms of cowrie currency. This created a lot of problems for the common people of Orissa, as they found it difficult to handle the *siccas* and taking advantage of that, the government servants and the Bengali *amlas* cheated them in transactions.

The Judicial administration

The judicial administration, adopted by the British government in Orissa, was efficient. One judge was appointed to look after the administration of justice. The people of Orissa could not follow the clumsy judicial procedure of the court. Sometimes, laws were tilted in favour of the culprit who bribed the *amlas* and other servants of the court and even the pleaders of the opposite party. The people of Orissa gradually lost faith from the judiciary, run by the British government in this land. The same judge also acted as magistrate. The conquered territories were divided into several *thanas* under the control of the *darogahs*. The police, to a greater extent, was oppressive.

Management of Jagannath temple

The British authorities kept their promises up what they had committed before the conquest of Orissa. True to their promise, they did not intervene in the direct management of the temple administration of God Jagannath at Puri. Initially, the temple administration was carried on by the British government through the *Parichhas*. In 1806, the government appointed an assembly consisting of three *Pandits* to look after the maintenance of the temple. The king of Khurda (now known as Gajapati king of Puri) was vested with the charge of looking after the temple management on hereditary basis. However, the British government looked after the financial administration of the temple. Pilgrim tax was collected as usual. The collection of tax was satisfactory. The Jagannath temple correspondence shows that between 1 Janauary, 1806 and 30 April, 1807, Rs. 2,05,608 (*sicca* rupees) were collected as Pilgrim tax. More attention was paid for the maintenance of the Jagannath temple. The Jagannath road leading from Calcutta to Puri was properly repaired to facilitate the influx of pilgrims who came to pay their visit to God Jagannath.

Princely states and conciliatory policy

After the conquest of Orissa, the British government followed a conciliatory policy to deal with the princely states. The states, which came under the direct rule of the British government, were known as *Mughalbandi*. Other *Garjat* states, which were free of direct British administration, were known as the Tributary Mahals. Those states managed their internal administration without British interference. Sixteen such states were– Nilagiri, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Angul, Hindol, Talcher, Dhenkanal, Athgarh, Tigiria, Baramba, Narasinghpur, Banki, Dashpalla, Nayagarh, Ranpur and Khandapara.

Role of the Tribulary Mahals

With the gradual march of time, when the British authorities were aware in 1814 that the chiefs of Dhenkanal and Mayurbhanj were creating disturbances by killing and torturing people, the government changed its view. Accordingly, to bring the Rajas under its control and to check their monopolistic design, the office of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals was established at Cuttack. The judge-cum-magistrate of Cuttack was entrusted with the responsibility of the Superintendent and Edward Impay, first held the post. By this arrangement, the British government extended its laws and regulations into the Tributary Mahals thereby bringing these *Garjat* areas under the closer supervision of the British rule. In 1816, it was decided that the kings of these Tributary Mahals would send monthly reports to the Superintendent at Cuttack regarding the crimes of their states but this order was not properly carried on by the kings. However, after the Paik rebellion of 1817, the post of Superintendent was abolished in 1818 and the Tributary Mahals came under the supervision of the Commissioner. Robert Ker took over the charge as the first Commissioner who directly interfered in the administration of the Tributary Mahals and exerted fear in the mind of the rulers of these Mahals thereby checking their tyranny.

Thus, in successive phases, the British occupation of Orissa was complete. The Britishers started their administration in Orissa with promptness and vigour. Their land revenue policy, administration of justice and police, salt monopoly, relation with Tributary Mahals, administration of Jagannath Temple, etc. firmly established their grip over the newly conquered territories of Orissa. Gradually the Britishers asserted their authority over the people of Orissa so much so that, it became increasingly difficult on the part of the people of this land to bear with it. As a result, began the resistance movements against the British rule in Orissa which shook its foundation to a greater extent and undermined its prestige.

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Chapter – 22

RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : THE PAIK REBELLION

The British occupation of the coastal Orissa in 1803 was unopposed by the people of this land. It was only because, they wanted to get rid of the Maratha rule which had made their life miserable. However, their hopes and aspirations were shattered on the rock of frustration when they experienced the administrative structure and economic exploitation, the two tentacles of the British imperialism. Added to these miseries were the faulty land revenue policy, salt monopoly, deprivation of the local servants from the British administration, the unsympathetic attitude of the rulers towards the ruled etc. which discharged venom in the mind of the people of Orissa. The British rule reached the nadir point of its degeneration when Jayi Rajaguru, the indomitable minister of Raja Mukundadeva II of Khurda was hanged and the estate of Khurda was confiscated permanently. The direct management of Khurda from 1805 by the British authority, not only flared up the anger of the native people but prepared the ground for an armed rebellion by the Paiks that took place in 1817 under the redoubtable leadership of the commander of the Raja of Khurda, Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar Mahapatra Bhramarabara Ray. This is popularly known as the Paik rebellion.

Causes of the Paik rebellion : Exploitation

The causes of the Paik rebellion are not too far to seek. First, with the expulsion of the Raja of Khurda, Major Fletcher took over the charge of the entire administration of the estate. Thus began the unsympathetic and aggressive British administration which became increasingly intolerable by the native people. They failed to understand the British regulations because those were translated into Bengali and Persi and were not available in Oriya. Their ignorance was exploited by the clerks who were not native people rather Bengalies who crowded the local offices. In various important matters like payment of revenue, court cases etc. the local people were very much dependant upon the Bengali clerks who collected easy money from them. Still then, to get fare judgement from the court became a dream for the local people. They could not ventilate their grievances before the British authority. There remained a gulf between the general mass and the British government.

The Sunset law

Secondly, the faulty revenue policy of the British government adversely affected the local zamindars and the royats. The short term land revenue settlements hit the zamindars who failed to pay their due to the British authority. The Britishers never allowed remission or time to the local zamindars for the payment of revenue. The zamindars who failed to pay revenue to the British government at Calcutta in proper time, lost their zamindaries due to several reasons like failure of crops, draught, flood and other natural calamities. The assessments and overassessments of the short-term settlements added misery to the already miserable life of the peasants. This faulty land revenue policy of the British government disappointed not only the zamindars but also the royats.

The Salt monopoly

Salt monopoly under the British authority caused immense hardship to the common people of Orissa. The long sea coast of Orissa produced a huge quantity of salt which was used by the people of this land freely. However, the British authority deprived the zamindars and the local people of coastal region of their traditional rights to manufacture salt. The rise in the price of salt was generally felt by every house of this land. William Trower observed —

> "I confess myself quite unable to decide, but certain it is, that the cry for salt is general throughout the district. Now only is the high price complained of, a price which is said to preclude the lower classes of people from purchasing it, but the difficulty of procuring it, even by those who can afford to pay for it."

Plights of the Khurda people

The *amlas* involved in the administration smuggled out vast quantity of salt and derived heavy profit. The common people of Khurda, who depended on smuggled salt, found themselves in utter hardship. They violated the British salt laws and manufactured salt. For this breach of laws, they had to suffer imprisonment which was by then a social stigma. The persons who were imprisoned, were excommunicated from the society after their release from the jail. People tried to attract the attention of the British government against the oppressive nature of the salt laws which fell in deaf ears. In the graphic language of Edward Impey.

> "....... thus deprived or curtailed in the use of an article of life essential to their comfort, the inhabitants of Khurda experienced in a greater degree than almost any others in the District the operation of this salt monopoly."

The salt monopoly of the British Raj, as is evident, was certainly responsible for the outbreak of the revolt.

The new currency system

Fourthly, the new currency system of the British authority in Orissa was another factor that prepared the ground for the Paik rebellion. During the Maratha period, cowrie formed the chief medium of exchange in Orissa. It had its rate of exchange with the silver coins. Scarcity of cowrie currency was greatly felt during the early stage of British administration in Orissa. As a result, it became very much difficult on the part of the British troops to procure small articles of daily consumption from the local market. So, in November 1804, the British government introduced *sicca* rupees in Orissa. This was a bolt from the blue to the people of Orissa. The zamindars, the peasants, the Talukdars etc. felt difficulty for paying revenue in cowrie currency. The villagers faced a lot of problems in handling the new currency and they were grossly exploited by the local *mahajanas*.

Condition of Khurda

Fifthly, the condition of Khurda, made its people rebellious. The hanging of Jayi Rajaguru, the deposition of Raja Mukundadeva II and the reorganisation of administration in Khurda by Major Fletcher, enraged the people of Khurda a lot. They wanted to oppose the British rule in Khurda tooth and nail.

Discontentment of Buxi Jagabandhu

Lastly, the discontentment of Buxi Jagabandhu was the immediate cause for the outbreak of the Paik rebellion. He was the Commander of the Raja of Khurda and his office was hereditary. He commanded respect next to the king from the people. For his service he got *jagir* lands from the Raja which was known as *Buxibar*, consisting of the quilla of Rorung and four *paraganas* viz-Rahang, Lembai, Sarai and Chabiskud. When Major Fletcher organised new administration in Khurda, he dispossessed Buxi of the quilla Rorung. Further, by the mischivious role of Chandra Prasad Singh, the above mentioned four *paraganas* of Buxi were sold to Lakshmi Narayan who ultimately gave it to Krishna Chandra Singh, a relation of Chandra Prasad Singh. When the fact was revealed, Buxi represented to Richardson, the Commissioner, regarding this clandestine deal. The challange of Krishna Chandra in the court against Jagabandhu's right over these *paraganas* and Buxi's own cousin Gadadhar Vidyadhara's claim over such property, led Richardson to dispossess Jagabandhu of his right over these *paraganas* and as such, over all sources of income. This made Buxi a beggar. Added to this misfortune, the *Daroga* of Khurda tried to take Buxi into custody by a false information supplied to him by Charan Patnaik, the *Sarbarakar* of Khurda who reported the *Daroga* about Buxi's secret link with the Pindaris. This led Buxi Jagabandhu to be rebellious. By the help of the Paiks, he wanted to have a showdown with the Britishers.

The Rebellion

The above reasons prompted Paikas to be revolutionary. The revolution became fiary with the march of time.

Beginning of the rebellion

On 29 March, 1817, began the Paik rebellion in Khurda. On that day, writes Edward Impey

> "a body of 400 men, denominated Kund, inhabitants of Goomsur in Ganjam, had entered the district of Cuttack, where they have been joined by the Paiks and Dulbeheras of Pergunnah Khoordah, under the guidance of a person named Jugbundoo and had committed various acts of outrage and rebellion."

The insurgents attacked the police station and government buildings at Banapur and killed more than 100 men and looted government money amounting to Rs. 15,000. They attacked Charles Becher, the Salt Agent of Southern Division and plundered his boats on the Chilka lake.

Foot steps of the rebellion in Khurda

The Paiks of Khurda under the leadership of Buxi Jagabandhu joined the Chuhars (whom Impey described as Kund or Khond) of Ghumser. They burnt the government buildings and sacked the government treasury of Khurda. The insurgents proceeded towards Lembai and murdered Charan Patnaik at Rathipur. Within no time, Khurda and the neighbouring areas were at the mercy of these rebels. Barricades were erected by them and Gangapara Pass, the main line of communication between Cuttack and Khurda, was guarded by the rebellious Paiks.

Measures of Impey

The activities of the insurgents made the British authorities aware about the alarming situation at Khurda. To meet the emergency, Edward Impey dispatched troops to Khurda and Pipli under Lieutnants Prideaux and Faris respectively. Accompanied by Lieutnant Travis, he marched with a detachment of sepoys towards Gangapara on 1 April 1817. It was impossible on the part of the British troops to cross the barricade and advance towards Khurda. On the otherhand, the hidden Paiks inside the jungle attacked the British sepoys off and on and forced them to retreat. Impey wrote to the government of Bengal— "My retreat was forced, and the whole of Khurda territory is in a complete state of insurrection."

The horrible steps of the insurgents

Instructed by Captain Wellington, Lieutnant Faris chased the insurgents and consequently, he was shot dead along with one Indian Subahdar. Pipli fell into the hands of the rebellious Paiks. The police stations and government offices were burnt' on 7 April, 1817, some insurgents under the leadership of Rajballav Chhotrai attacked Hariharpur and beat the Tahasildar of Kothdes black and blue. They also drove away the new zamindars of Balarampur and Budhakera. A large number of common people of Lembai, Pipli and Kothdes joined the insurgents and penalised the zamindars who sided with the British. They also burnt the villages and destroyed the crops. The insurgents captured Rani Mukta Dei of Sambalpur who had settled in her Panehgarh Jagir under British shelter and looted her house. Further, by the instruction of Buxi, they murdered Jagabandhu Patnaik and the members of his family who were spying against Buxi.

Mukundadeva announced as king

Being successful in different places like Khurda, Lembai, Pipli, Gangapara, Kothdes, Hariharpur etc., the insurgents entered into Puri town. They burnt and broke down the public and private buildings as well. On 14 April, Buxi, with a large number of his followers, reached Puri. The priests of the temple welcomed him. They denounced the British authority and proclaimed Raja Mukundadeva as their ruler who was indifferent to this sort of affair. The correspondences of Impey to the Government at Bengal reveals that the revolt gradually spread to Gope, Kujang, Pattamudai, Golra, Harishpur, Praharajpur etc.

Steps of Le Fevre

Now, the British government opened its Pandora's box for suppressing the rebellion. Martial law was extended to Puri, Pipli, Lembai etc. Captain Le Fevre, with strong military detachments marched towards Puri and on the way, he burnt several Paik villages. The Raja and his son Ramachandradeva were captured and brought to Cuttack by Le Fevre. This action of the British government broke down the morality of the insurgents. However, the reaction against the British government became rampant at Pattamundai, Kujang, Gope and other places. Captain Wellington now directed the troops to suppress the revolt. Captain C.R. Kennet was dispatched with a detachment to suppress the revolt at Gope, Golra and surrounding areas nearby. Captain A.Macleod proceeded to Pattamundai to control the rising tide of the insurrection at Pattamundai. At last, the Raja of Kujang surrendered and Captain Kennet was successful in capturing Narayana Paramaguru and Bamadeva Patajoshi and their followers who were other key leaders of the Paik rebellion. They were sent to the fort of Barabati. With this, normalcy was restored in Pattamundai, Asureswar, Praharajpur and other places.

New strategy of insurgents

(The suppressive measures of the British authority led Buxi and his followers to take shelter at Nayagarh and Ranapur. But the combined military operation from Ganjam and Cuttack made Buxi and his followers to change places of their hiding very frequently. At last, Buxi gave a new proposal to his followers like Krushnachandra Bhramarabara Rai, Damu Subudhi, Gopal Chhotrai and others as shch :

> ".......let us retire to the jungles and fix our abode their, the lands
> will then become waste and no revenue be collected......"

The insurgents prevented the *Sarbarkars* to enter into any revenue deal with the British. The resistance to the British authority, first came from the Khonds of Banapur who ransacked the camps of the British officers. From Banapur, the fire spread to Khurda, Puri, Balakati, Gope, tiran, Bolgarh etc. The government tried to suppress this insurrections. Attempts were taken to capture Buxi Jagabandhu. Major E. Roughsedge, with the assistance of Lieutnant D. Ruddell, tried to capture Buxi and his followers who escaped from Baud by the help of the Raja of Dasapalla in September, 1818, with his faithful followers like Biswanath Harichandan, Adikanda Bidyadhara, Dinabandhu Santara, Gopal Chhotrai, Padmanava Chhotrai and others.

Steps to capture Buxi

As a precautionary measure, the British authorities threatened the Raja of Nayagarh with the warning that his estate would be confiscated, if he helped the insurgents. In the meanwhile, some followers of Buxi were captured. Rewards of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,000 for capturing Buxi Jagabandhu and Krushnachandra Bhramarabara Rai respectively, were announced by the British authority but in vain. Lastly, by the suggestion of the Commissioner of Cuttack, it was proclaimed by the Governor-General-in-Council that an allowance of Rs. 200 per month would be given to Buxi, if he surrenders. Buxi responded to it by sending a representation through his adopted son to the government stating the foul ways by which he was dispossessed of his property, the whimscal rule of major Fletcher at Khurda, salt monopoly of the British government in causing widespread discontentment among the people of Khurda etc. but the government paid deaf ears to it.

Condition for Buxi's surrender

In the meanwhile, two wives of Buxi and many of the followers of Buxi were captured. However, Buxi did not surrender. W. Blunt, the Commissioner of Cuttack recommended to pardon Buxi and his staunch supporter Krushnachandra Bhramarabara Rai. Basing upon the report of Blunt, the Governor-General-in-Council ordered that if Buxi and his friend would surrender, they would be pardoned and their pension would be fixed at Rs. 100 and Rs. 50 respectively per month and they would live near Cuttack and could not go outside without the permission of the magistrate. Wilkinson, the magistrate of Khurda, communicated this to Buxi and his friend through the adopted son of the rebellious leader to surrender within two months with effect from 1 December, 1822. Though, the order was received by Buxi in January 1823, he did not agree to the proposal. For long two years, he maintained silence. His friend Krushnachandra deserted him. His followers were captured or surrendered with the hope to get government service. At last, Buxi decided to surrender.

The negotiation

Now, W. Blunt, the Commissioner of Cuttack, sent Waz Mohammed, the *Sheristadar* of the Office Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to negotiate with Buxi. At Nayagarh, both of them talked and Buxi surrendered with his followers at Cuttack on 27 May, 1825. Buxi was pardoned alongwith his followers. His monthly allowance was fixed at Rs. 150. He lived, virtually as a prisoner at Cuttack. He prayed for the restoration of his former possessions and to allow him to reside at Rorang but the prayer was not granted by the Governor-General-in-Council. Buxi breathed his last on 24 January, 1829 at Cuttack. The underground fight which Buxi carried on with the British government, immortalised his name as a patriot in the mind of the millions of people of Orissa.

The Paik rebellion of 1817 opened the eyes of the British government. A committee, consisting of two members, was appointed to enquire the causes and suggest remedies of the rebellion. Impey, the Magistrate of Cuttack and his successor Walter Ewer with

General Martindell looked into the factors regarding such rebellion. The economic factors, judicial maladies and mal-administration were prominent causes, as per their suggestions, that had prompted people to be rebellious.

Result of the Paik Rebellion

Accordingly, in administrative field, changes were made. Oriyas were employed in the government services and entrusted with responsible works. This facilitates the local people to come closer to the British authority through these employees.

Secondly, changes were also introduced in the field of judiciary. Since Persi was the court language, the Oriyas could not know a little of it and failed to understand the judicial procedure and verdict. Now, the judges were instructed to visit even the interior villages of a district accompanied by the Oriya *Amlas* and receiving petitions from the people there and then, they redressed the grievances of the people.

Thirdly, the price of the salt was reduced and more salt was made available for the smooth purchase of the people. This measure of the British government pacified the common people of Orissa in general and the people of Khurda, in particular.

Fourthly, when Raja Mukundadeva II died on 30 November 1817, his son Ramachandradeva III was allowed to move to Puri. He was allowed an annual pension of Rs. 24,000 and to take over the charge of the management of the Jagannath temple of Puri. By this arrangement, the British government won the mind and sentiment of the people of Orissa.

Fifth, the British government reduced the revenue burdens of the local zamindars. The dealing with the properties was changed. In several cases, the government purchased the estates of the defaulters and restored them to the original proprietors. The Paiks, on the other hand, were dealt with scorn and contempt. They were forced to leave the profession of militial men of the king and to adopt cultivation and other works as means to earn livelihood.

Finally, the British government took adequate step to re-organise the British administrative structure in Orissa. The commissioner was appointed and vested with special powers to implement various reformative measures. Board of Revenue, Board of trade, Provincal Court of Appeal, Circuit Courts.... all remained under his supervision. No military administration but amity and cooperation with the local bulk, became his motto to run the administration in Orissa for effacing the bitter memory of the Paik rebellion from the mind of the people of this land.

Nature of the Paik Rebellion

The nature of the Paik rebellion is to be discussed here. The Paik rebellion was direct challenge, first of its kind, to the British authority in this land. It was not a sudden outbrust of popular sentiment like the Revolt of 1857. Buxi Jagabandhu had thoroughly chalked out the measures to deal with the British government. Buxi organised the rebellion in a very planned manner as is evident from his move from place to place with caution.The area of the extent of this rebellion was vast. It spread to Pattamundai, Gope, Kanika, Kujang and several other places, as discussed earlier.

It was really rebellion of the Paiks of the deposed Raja of Khurda under the leadership of Buxi. Of course, the personal grievances and vengeance of Jagabandhu were tinged with the popular discontentment of the people of Orissa at large due to the maladministration of the British Raj. Different sections of people like the Paiks, the peasants, common people, *Amlas* and *Sarbarkaras* had participated in this rebellion. This will be suffice to say that the rebellion was political in nature, very popular and arousing anti-British feelings. Though named as the Paik Rebellion, the participation of a large number of people of various types other than the Paiks, can never be denied.

With a grand repressive measures adopted by the British authorities, the Paik rebellion came to a dead end. The subsequent conciliatory measures adopted by the Britishers gradually effaced the bitter memory of this rebellion from the mind of the Orissan people. The valour and heroism of Buxi Jagabandhu, no doubt, had inspired the people of this land to a greater extent to overthrow the British hegemony from this land. His name became a popular name in every house of Orissa. Even today, the name of Buxi Jagabandhu is taken with a sense of pride by everyone in this state. His revolt changed the ways of the early British administration in this land and the government became successful for a few decades to win the popular sentiment of the people. History had to witness, how far British government was successful in its mission in suppressing for wining the mind of the people of Orissa which again flared up against the British Raj in Sambalpur and found expression through Surendra Sai.

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Chapter – 23

THE CHAUHANS OF PATNAGARH AND SAMBALPUR

Before one takes a leap to discuss the resistance movement against the British Raj in Sambalpur, it is worthwhile to discuss about the Chauhan rule that existed in Patnagarh and Sambalpur. As is known, the Chauhans were valiant Rajputs in medieval India. Prithviraj III, the illustrious ruler of this dynasty, was defeated and killed at the hands of Muhammad of Ghur in 1192 A.D. in the Second Battle of Tarain. After that sanguinary battle, Delhi was occupied by Muhammad of Ghur. At this juncture, the Chauhans left Northern India, entered into different parts of the country, carved out several kingdoms and ruled there. According to tradition, one Ramaideva of Chauhan race was instrumental in establishing a kingdom in Patnagarh in the present district of Balangir in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. In due course of time, Sambalpur and the entire Western Orissa and some portions of Madhya Pradesh came under the sway of this dynasty. The *Kosalananda Kavya* of Gangadhara Mishra and *Jaya Chandrika* of Prahallad Dubey and several inscriptions from the main sources in constructing the history of the Chauhans of Patnagarh and Sambalpur.

THE CHAUHANS OF PATNAGARH

Ramaideva (C-1355 to 1380 A.D.)

Ramaideva was the founder of the Chauhan rule in Patnagarh. He belonged to the Chauhan family of Mainpuri in the present Uttar Pradesh. As the tradition, when the father of Ramaideva was killed by a Muslim, the queen of that deceased king was brought to a far off place like Patnagarh and after some days, she gave birth to Ramaideva. Another tradition relates that one Hamirdeva of Garh Shambar near Mainpuri, came to Orissa and settled at Manikgarh fort in the hills of Khariar. Once, before marching for a battle, he took leave from his seven queens. He gave a parting message to his wives that if he did not return in time, the pigeons would carry the message of his death. The pigeons returned but not Ramaideva. The queens, presuming the death of their husband, wanted to put an end to their life. Six of them jumped into the Ramdarha pool near Nrusimhanath and breathed their last. The surviving one went into the jungle. She was sheltered by a Binjhal and in due course of time, gave birth to child who became famous as Ramaideva in future.

Be that as it may, Ramaideva grew up. By that time, Patnagarh was under the sway of the Gangas. When Kruttivasdeva, the last Ganga Governor of Patnagarh, died issueless and the Gangas did not send any governor to that place, it was governed by *Ath-malik* (eight Maliks) which created choas in the area. At this juncture, Ramaideva, fished in that troubled water and killed the eight maliks and assumed supremacy over the *Athgarh* (eight forts) and established Chauhan rule in Patnagarh. He built the temple of goddess Pata-Mahesvari or Patanesvari who became the tutelary deity of the Chauhans of Patnagarh.

Vatsarajadeva (C-1385-1410 A.D.)

Mahalingadeva succeeded his father Ramaideva in 1380 A.D. and ruled till 1385 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Vatsarajadeva in 1385 A.D. With Vatsarajadeva, began the movement of the Chauhan imperial sun in Orissa. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Ganga ruler of Bamanda who sued for peace and was agreed to pay sixteen elephant annually to the former. Besides, he defeated the rulers of Gangapur, Bonai, Baud, Khimindi, Nandapur, Bastar and Dhenkanal. His audacity knew no bound. He went to the extent of challenging the Ganga king of Orissa and the result was fatal. The Ganga king (with all probability Narasimhadeva IV) defeated Vatsarajadeva and killed him.

Vaijaladeva (C-1410-1435 A.D.)

Vaijaladeva succeeded his father Vatsarajadeva. He was a pious ruler. The Narasimhanatha temple inscription reveals that he built a temple dedicated to Narasimha the 4th incarnation of Lord Vishnu on the Gandhamardana hill in 1418 A.D. It seems that he was a devout Vaisnava. He dedicated 100 cows and village Lohasingha for the smooth service of Narasimhanatha. The name Vaijaladeva occurs in the *Padavalis* of poet Vidyapati, who flourished in the last part of 14th century and early part of the 15th century A.D. It is presumed that he had paid his visit to the court of Vaijaladeva. Of course, the poet does not mention about the dynasty of Vaijaladeva of the place from which he ruled. So, the connection of the former with the latter is not beyond doubt.

Bhojarajadeva (C-1435-1460 A.D.)

Bhojarajadeva succeeded to the throne of Patnagarh after Vaijaladeva. He was also a very pious ruler. He built the fort of Bhojgarh near the Gandhamardana hill. Nothing more is known about this ruler. He was succeeded by his son Prataparudradeva (C-1460-1485). There is a reference to Prataparudradeva in the *Nirguna Mahatmya* of poet Chaitanya Dasa who flourished in the later half of the 15th century A.D.

Vikramadityadeva (C-1485-1510 A.D.)

Vikramadityadeva, the son of Prataparudradeva, succeeded his father in 1485 A.D. He was a great warrior. He marched towards Phuljhar, defeated a Baina chief and conquered the land. He appointed a Gond *sardar* named Mukhraj as ruler of Phuljhar who showed his allegience to Vikramaditya. Vikramaditya built a fort on the Sisupala hill of Phuljhar. The ruins of the fort had led Impey to praise it in no uncertain terms. With the gradual march of time, further improvement was made on the fort by Abani Sai, the tenth ruler of Phuljhar. The reign period of Vikramaditya was peaceful. He breathed his last in 1510 A.D.

Vaijaladeva II (C-1510-1535 A.D.)

Vikramdityadeva was succeeded by his son Vaijaladeva II. He has been described as a saintly king in the *Kosalananda Kavya*. He was a poet of the superb order. His

Prabodha Chandrika or *Vaijala Karika* retains its importance in the domain of poetical works on Sanskrit grammer. In the opening verse, he introduces himself as the son of Vikramaditya, the darling of Chandravati, a scholar in Nyaya and Tantra and so on and so forth. Like his father, his reign period was also marked with peace and tranquility.

Hirabhadradeva (C-1536-1568 A.D.)

The reign of Hirabhadradeva was marked with many glorious happenings. As is known from the *Kosalananda Kavya*, Hirabhadradeva succeeded his father Vaijaladeva II. During his reign period, the foot-steps of the Afghan army were heard in Orissa. As Hirabhadradeva was the feudatory ruler of the Gajapatis of Orissa like his predecessors, he sent his younger son Balaramadeva with a grand army to help Mukundadeva against the attack of the Afghans of Bengal led by Bayazid and Kalapahada in 1568 A.D. In the same year, Hirabhadradeva breathed his last. He was succeeded by his eldest son Narasimhadeva (1568-1575 A.D.) who instructed his brother Balaramadeva to establish a second citadel of Chauhan administration at Sambalpur to put a check to the aggression of the Kalachuris of Ratnapur. Hamiradeva took over the charge of Patnagarh after the death of his father in 1575 A.D. and ruled till 1579 A.D. He breathed his last leaving behind him an infant son named Pratapadeva. At this juncture, Balaramadeva sent his son Hridayanarayana from Sambalpur to look after the administration of Patnagarh. However, at the approach of Hridayanarayana, the widow queen of Hamiradeva fled to her father's kingdom at Nandapur with her son Pratapadeva. When Balaramadeva died, Hridayanarayana returned back to Sambalpur. After his departure, Pratapadeva returned back to Patnagarh and took over the charge of its administration. After Pratapadeva, Vikramaditya, Mukundadeva, Balaramadeva and Hridesadeva assumed the throne in succession. With the death of Hridesadeva, his brother Vatsarajadeva murdered the widow queen of Hridesadeva. However, the two princes, who were minor by that time, were secretly taken into the parent's house of the deceased queen. With the gradual march of time, Raisinghdeva (Raisinghdeo), the elder son of Hridesadeva occupied Patnagarh after killing his uncle and asserted his position.

Raisinghdeva (C-1690-1767)

77 (1690-1767) long reign

In the chequered annals of the Chauhan rule of Patnagarh, Raisinghdeva enjoyed a long reign. However, his reign was turbulent. Among the three queens of Raisinghdeva, the last one gave birth to a son named Chandrasekhar who was very much liked by the king. At this, the second queen, the mother of two sons, was infuriated. She wanted to place her son on the throne of Patnagarh. To materialise her dream, she brought maximum subjects to her side who revolted against the king. Unable to suppress the rebellion owing to his old age, the king fled away from Patnagarh with his grandson Prithvisingh and took shelter in the court of Divyasinghdeva, the king of Sonepur. For this, Raisinghdeva had to pay a heavy price. He granted to Divyasinghdeva a vast territory lying between Ang and Suktel. With the departure of Raisinghdeva, the kingdom of Patnagarh passed through anarchy and confusion. Stability could never be restored. Here at Sonepur, Raisinghdeva nominated Prithvisingh as his successor and celebrated his coronation ceremony. He breathed his last in 1767 A.D.

Prithvisinghdeva (C-1767-1770)

With the passing away of Raisinghdeva, the confusion prevailing in Patnagarh came to an end. The courtiers of Patnagarh brought back Prithvisinghdev and recognised him as their king. Now, everybody supported him and normalcy was restored in Patnagarh. He ruled over Patnagarh only for three years and breathed his last in 1760 A.D. His queen, who was pregnant at the time of his death, gave birth to a son named Ramachandradeva II. The Marathas occupied Sambalpur when Ramachandradeva II was a minor and made him captive at Chanda. They released him in 1789 A.D. The British occupied it in 1804 and returned it to the Marathas and again they got back it in 1817.

Ramachandradeva II (C-1789-1820)

The reign of Ramachandradeva II was an era of reconstruction. He created the zamindaries of Loisinga and Jarasinga. He offered the zamindari of Loisinga to Mukunda Rai son of Narasimha Rai, the *Gartia* of Kangan fort, whom Ramachandradeva II had killed due to his insubordination. The zamindari of Jarasinga was bestowed on his own son Jugarasingh, born from his third queen. His reign period witnessed the Anglo-Maratha war. It has already been stated how the Marathas had released him in 1789. In 1820, he breathed his last.

Bhupaladeva (1820-1848)

Bhupaladeva succeeded his father Ramachandradeva II in 1820. He obtained from the British a separate *sanad* and became free from the authority of Sambalpur. Now, he became subordinate to the British authority. His reign period was turbulent to some extent. As per the advice of *Dewan* Balabhadra Rai, he confiscated the zamindari right of Ramjal Bariha who was enjoying the revenues of Agalpur, Ghasian and Belpara *Paraganas*. At this, Ramjal turned rebellious. Bhupaladeva sent *Dewan* Balabhadra Rai to crush the rebellion but, unfortunately, the *Dewan* was killed. At this juncture, Dharamsingh Majhi, the zamindar of Atgan, fought against Ramjal, defeated him and brought the rebel to Patnagarh. Bhupaladeva was a pious king. He pardoned Ramjal Bariha and restored him his previous zamindari. Dharamsingh was honoured with the title *Mandhata* and later on, he was elevated to the status of Dewan. Bhupaladeva died in 1848.

Hirabajradhara (1848-1866)

Hirabajradhara succeeded his father Bhupaladeva in 1848. The reign of Hirabajradhara was marked with two important happenings having their impact on the British administration of this land. These important happenings were the revolt of Chakra Bisoyee and Surendra Sai. Chakra Bisoyee organised the Khonds of Ghumsar and Phulbani (Baud Kandhamal) against the British authority. Under his leadership, the Khonds attacked Lt. Macneill, the Agent of the hilltracts of Orissa at a village named Orladhoni inside the jungle. However, by the sudden counter-attack of Dinabandhu Patnaik, on the Khonds, the Tahasildar of

Kandhamal, the life of Macneill was saved. Chakra Bisoyee fled away from that place and came to Patnagarh. He was given a safe asylum by Dharam Singh Mandhata, the zamindar of Atgan. The British troops got a smell of it and rushed towards Atgan. Dharam Singh resisted the British troops with arms and facilitated the escape of a Chakra Bisoyee who went to Paralakhemindi. Dharam Singh was captured by the British troops and put behind the bars. He breathed his last inside the prison. The sacrifice of Dharam Singh is ever remembered by the people of Orissa.

Another titanic rebellion with which Patnagarh was entangled, was the revolt of Surendra Sai. (see Chapter-21). Within the revolutionary days, Ujjala Sai, the brother of Surendra Sai organised the Khonds inside Patnagarh. Hirabajradhara helped Ujjala. Cockburn, the Commissioner of Cuttack finded Rs. 1000 to the king of Patnagarh for his non-co-operation to capture the rebels. By the persuasion of Rup Singh and Jhariar Singh, the king captured Ujjala Sai and against his conscience, handed him over to the British authority. Ujjala Sai was hanged at Sambalpur in 1858. Further, Major Impey knew very well that the king of Patnagarh could capture Surendra Sai. Impey gave an ultimatum to Hirabajradhara that he had to capture Bariha, a hard core rebel. Otherwise, his authority over Patnagarh would come to an end. However, Bariha was captured in 1865. In 1866 Hirabajradhara breathed his last.

Surapratapadeva (1866-1871)

Surapratapadeva, who succeeded his father Hirabajradharadeva in 1866, was a tyrannical and oppressive ruler. His oppression was furthered due to his notorious brother Viswanath Singh who was entrusted with the administration of the estates of the Khonds. One of his officers murdered Chhinu Bhoi, the *Umaro* of the Khonds in Saintala. The Khonds brought the dead body of the *Umaro* to Patnagarh but the king did not pay any heed to their grievances.The Khonds returned to their land with vengeance. In 1870, Surapratapadeva and his brother went to attend the marriage ceremony of the eldest daughter of Raja Uditpratapadeva of Kalahandi. They encamped in Saintala. The Khonds considered it as an appropriate moment and attacked the camp of the king. However, the king and his brother left the camp and reached Kalahandi. While returning from Kalahandi, the king brought with him a large number of soldiers who set fire in the Khond-villages and killed them. In this way, the rebellious Khonds were suppressed.One of the Khonds went to Sambalpur and informed the British authority about the tyranny of Surapratapadeva. The Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur investigated the matter and imprisoned king Surapratapadeva, his brother Viswanath Singh and some of their supporters at Sambalpur. From 1871 to 1893, Patnagarh came under the rule of the Court of Wards. In 1893, Ramachandradeva III, the son of Viswanath, and adopted by Surapratapadeva, became the king of Patna State in 1893. Right from that time, the Patna State witnessed the rule of kings like Dalaganjana Singh, Prithviraj Singh, Rajendra Narayan Singh in succession. During the reign period of Rajendra Narayan Singh, the new province of Orissa was created in 1936 and Patna merged with it in 1948.

THE CHAUHANS OF SAMBALPUR

Balaramadeva (C-1570-1595 A.D.)

It has already been described under which circumstance, king Narasimhadeva I of Patnagarh allowed Balaramadeva to carve out an independent kingdom at Sambalpur. Of course, the *Jaya Chandrika* presents a different story regarding the formation of the Sambalpur kingdom. It states that a quarrel took place between Narasimhadeva and Balaramadeva and finally, the kingdom was divided by the advice of their mother and river Ang formed the dividing line between the two. A historiographical analysis reveals that the kingdom of Sambalpur was created to check the aggressive march of Kalyan Sahai, the Kalachuri king of Ratnapur.

The creation of Sambalpur state was a great challenge for Balaramadeva. He organised the tribal zamindars and through them, brought political unity of that land. He was a shrewd diplomat. He declared Samalai, a tribal goddess as the state deity, built temple for her and by this, he united all the tribal people under his suzerainty who paid obeisance at his feet. By receiving their unconditional support, Balaramadeva brought the neighbouring states like Bamanda, Gangpur, Surguja, Sarangagarh, Raigarh, Bargarh and Sakti under his sway. He also defeated the Kalachuris of Ratnapur. After the death of his elder brother Narasimhadeva, he also brought the kingdom of Patnagarh under his control. Really, Balaramadeva was instrumental in founding Sambalpur kingdom and fostering religious unity among the people of Sambalpur through Samalesvari worship. After his death, his son Hridayanarayana succeeded him in 1595 A.D. and after the brief rule of a decade, breathed his last in 1605 A.D.

Balabhadradeva (C-1605-1630A.D.)

After Hridayanarayana, his son Balabhadradeva succeeded him in 1605 A.D. His reign period was glorious. The *Jaya Chandrika* narrates that he had a toe fight with Siddhabhanja, the king of Baud. After repeated attacks of twelve years, he was not successful in his mission. Being failure in that task, he sought the help of Bhikha Raya, his feudatory chief of Sarangagarh. With his help, Siddhabhanja was defeated. He was captured and pardoned. He not only paid tribute to Balabhadradeva but also ceded Sonepur tract which now came under the sway of Sambalpur.

Madhukaradeva (C-1630-1650 A.D.)

The reign period of Madhukaradeva was glorious in many ways. He converted the newly acquired Sonepur tract into a feudatory state and made his second son Madangopala as its chief. For his third son Anniruddha, he created the zamindari of Raipur-Khinda. Surendra Sai, the great rebel leader of Sambalpur belonged to this family. His fourth son, Vansigopal was a man of different nature. He kept himself away from the pomp and splendour of royal family and devoted his life for the spread of Vaisnavism in the nook and corner of Western Orissa. He was instrumental in the building of Ananta-sayya temple, the

Gopalji temple and Bada Jagannath temple and Gopalji *math* in Sambalpur, the Gopalji temple of Sonepur and the Ramji *math* of Puri. For him, really Vaisnavism gained momentum in the Western Orissa. The reign period of Madhukaradeva was peaceful.

Baliaradeva (C-1650-1689 A.D.)

With Baliaradeva, the imperial sun of the Chauhans of Sambalpur rose into meridian. He was the master of eighteen *garhs* consisting of Sambalpur, Patna, Baud, Sonepur, Khariar, Rairahakhol, Athmalika, Bamanda, Raigarh, Gangapur, Bonai, Baragarh, Sarangagarh, Sakta, Phuljhar, Surguja, Chandrapur and Bindra-Nuagarh. Very rightly he took up the title *Atharagada Maudamani* befitting to his status. Thus, his empire embraced the whole of Western Orissa and the Raipur-Bilaspur area of Madhya Pradesh. During his reign period, the zamindaries of Barapali and Saria were created and bestowed on his two sons. The former was offered to Vikram Singh and the latter, to Fateh Singh. During his reign Gangadhara Mishra composed *Kosalananda Kavya*. Baliaradeva breathed his last in 1689 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Ratan Singh who was killed by the rebels prompted by the *Dewans* only after four months.

Chhatra Sai (1690-1725 A.D.)

With the murder of Ratan Singh, Chhatra Sai fled away from Sambalpur and reached Sarangagarh. Aided by the chiefs of Sarangagarh and Raigarh, he attacked Sambalpur, suppressed the rebels and became king of Sambalpur in 1690 A.D. and put an end to the rule of the *Dewans*. He amply rewarded the two feudatory chiefs who had helped him in suppressing the rebels. Being pleased with the help rendered to him by Prananath, a Rajput soldier of Banaras, Chhatra Sai bestowed on him the zamindari of Rampur near Jharsuguda. He had rebuilt the temple of Samalai at Sambalpur. His reign period passed through turbulent phase. He liked Ajita, the son of his second queen very much. He was misguided and he began to believe that the chief queen was trying to offer the throne of Sambalpur to her son Burha Raya. Being infuriated, he killed the chief queen and her son Burha Raya. Of course, later on, he repented. Perhaps, Budha Raja, a Saiva temple built on the hill at Sambalpur town bears the testimony of the misdeeds and repentance of Chhatra Sai.

Ajita Singh (1735-1766)

With the accession of Ajita Singh in 1725, chaos and confusion began in Sambalpur. As he did not take any interest in administration, Dewan Dakshina Ray became powerful. When the king new about it, he murdered him through Peelo Ray whom General Akbar Ray killed. These happenings made Ajita singh perturbed and he became ill. He, on his death bed, advised his son Abhaya Singh to keep himself away from the clutch of Akbar Ray. Ajita Singh breathed his last in 1766. When Abhaya Singh suspended Akbar and appointed Krishna Badamallick as Dewan. Thus began a terrible civil war and Akbar imprisoned

Abhaya Singh and his Dewan. Out of fear, Jayanta Singh, the younger brother of Ajita Singh left Sambalpur and reached Nagpur. One Balabhadra of the Chauhan family was placed on the throne and Akbar began to rule Sambalpur virtually. Receiving help from the feudatories, Jayanta Singh advanced towards Sambalpur. Akbar readily submitted to him because the Marathas had advanced to occupy Sambalpur by that time. With the coming of Jayanta Singh, the Marathas retreated. Jayanta killed Akbar and Balabhara and put an end to the puppet regime in 1781 A.D.

Jayanta Singh (1781-1818)

Jayanta Singh ascended the throne in 1781. His reign witnessed aggressive marches of the Marathas. At last, Jayanta Singh made friendship with the Marathas and agreed to pay annual *Chauth*. Vinkoji, a brother of Raghuji Bhonsle, was passed through Sambalpur and Sonepur to Puri in 1799, was not properly treated by Jayanta Singh and his feudatories. Being angry, he dispatched an army under the command of his general Bhup Singh to Sambalpur who arrested Jayanta Singh, his son Maharaja Sai, king Prithvi Singh of Sonepur and king Chandra Sekhar Bhanja of Baud. He himself became the Governor of Sambalpur and with the gradual march of time, helped by Ratan Kumari, the queen of Jayanta Singh, challenged the Bhonsle authority of Nagpur. Being defeated by the Nagpur army, he jointed with the British authority finding for him a safe asylum. In 1804, the British conquered Sambalpur. In the Third Anglo-Maratha War, the Marathas were defeated and Sambalpur came under the British authority. Jayanta Singh and Maharaja Sai were released in 1818 and the king breathed his last after a few months of his release.

Maharaja Sai (1820-1827)

[illegible] ([illegible]), [illegible] (Baudh)

After the death of Jayant Singh, Maharaja Sai ascended the throne of Sambalpur in 1820 A.D. Right from his time, the power of Sambalpur kingdom gradually dwindled away. The feudatory chiefs received separate *Sanads* and became independent of the Chauhan rule of Sambalpur. Maharaja Sai was without any issue. After his death in 1827, his widow queen Mohan Kumari assumed the reign of administration of Sambalpur kingdom.

Mohan Kumari (1827-1833) :

With the accession of Mohan Kumari, the confusion became worst confounded. She appointed Jaya Bohidar as his Dewan and during his period, the recalcitrant zamindars joined their hands under the leadership of Abdhut Singh, the zamindar of Bheden. Captain Wilkinson took conciliatory steps and reduced the power of the queen. He appointed Banamali Ray as the new Dewan. In 1823, the rule of queen Mohan Kumari was brought to an end. She received pension and resided at Cuttack. The throne of Sambalpur was offered to Narayan Singh, the uncle of Chauhan zamindar Bhawani Singh of Barapali.

Narayan Singh (1833-1849) :

With the accession of Narayan Singh, normalcy was restored in Sambalpur. However, he was a weak personality having no knowledge in administration. He issued a *Patta* granting the villages of Khinda, Dantmora and Talavira to Surendra Sai, the son of Late Dharam Sai. As Surendra was minor till 1834, the zamindari was being managed by his uncle Balaram Sai. Balaram Sai was not happy with the appiontment of Narayan Singh as the king of Sambalpur. He raised voice against it by bringing to his side the tribal zamindars.Narayan Singh was perturbed. When Surendra Sai went to meet Balabhadra Deo, the zamindar of Lakhanpur, the soldiers of Narayan Singh attacked them at Debrigarh and killed Balabhadra Deo. Surendra escaped from the spot. Surendra and his brother Udanta attacked Dariar Singh, the zamindar of Rampur, thinking him as the brain behind the murder of Balabhadra Deo due to the pre-British attitude of Dariar. However, Dariar escaped to Himagiri but his house was burnt and his old father and young son were murdered in cold blood. After that Surendra, Udanta and their uncle Balarama proceeded to Patnagarh to get help from king Bhupaladeva but the British government captured them all and handed over to Lieutenant Colonel Ousely. After trial, the three were sent to Hazaribag jail where Balaram Sai died. In 1849 Narayan Singh breathed his last leaving behind him no successor. As per the provisions of the Doctrine of Lapse, instituted by Lord Dalhousie, Sambalpur was brought under the sway of the British authority. And thus, ended the Chauhan rule in Sambalpur.

Thus, nearly the six hundred years of long rule of the Chauhans of Patnagarh and Sambalpur shaped the history of Western Orissa to a great extent. The creation of separate feudatory states and zamindaris and fostering unity from time to time by the rulers gave a smooth continuity to the Chauhan rule in these two kingdoms and helped a lot for the development of art and architecture. With the passage of time, Sambalpur rose into prominence. The turbulent phase in its history, began with the acession of queen Mohan Kumari and more obviously, with the installation of Narayan Singh as the king of Sambalpur. The land witnessed the emergence of a rebellious leader like Surendra Sai whose revolt gave a severe jolt to the British administration to a greater extent in Orissa.

Chapter – 24

THE REVOLT OF SURENDRA SAI

The resistance movement launched against the British hegemony by Surendra Sai was a sensational story of heroism of another son of this soil. The Paik rebellion of 1817 had created a sense of resentment in the minds of the people of Orissa against the barbarous British rule. The growing dissatisfaction and hatred against the British authority gradually faded away in the coastal region of Orissa by the lenient policy of the government. The naked British imperialism was quite visible with the arrival of Lord Delhousie as the Governor-General of India who wanted to grab as much as native states by the implementation of the 'Doctrine of Lapse.' When Narayan Singh was placed on the throne of Sambalpur after Mohan Kumari, Surendra Sai revolted. He was captured with his brother Udanta and uncle Balarama and they were sent to the Hazaribagh jail. Sambalpur was annexed to the British territory in 1849 with the implementation of the 'Doctrine of Lapse.' At this juncture, the wrath of Surendra Sai reached high, who was then imprisoned in the Hazaribagh jail. The Great Revolt of 1857 created circumstance for the release of Surendra Sai from that jail who gave a toe fight to the British authorities in order to assert his claim over the throne of Sambalpur and shook the foundation of the British administration to a greater extent in that area.

Early measures of the British at Sambalpur

As stated earlier, Balaramadeva, the scion of the Chauhan dynasty of Patnagarh, was instrumental in establishing the kingdom of Sambalpur in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Bhonsles of Nagpur imprisoned Jayanta Singh ans his son Maharaj Sai of the same dynasty and established their authority over the kingdom. The British occupied the land in 1804 and after due negotiation, the Maratha rule was again reestablished their until 1817 when during the third Anglo-Maratha War, it was surrendered to the British who released Jayanta Singh and his son Maharaja Sai from the Maratha clutch and placed the former on the throne of Sambalpur. After his death, Maharaja Sai was placed over the throne in 1820 because Rani Mukta Dei recommended him as the successor. Maharaja Sai died in 1827 without a son. Now the Britishers nominated the widow of the deceased king named Rani Mohan Kumari whose claim over the throne of Sambalpur was challenged by Surendra Sai, a descendant of Raja Madhukara Sai, the fourth Raja of the Chauhan dynasty of Sambalpur.

The Revolt

Surendra Sai's fight against the British authorities shows his bravery and heroism. He gave a toe fight to British imperalism at Sambalpur.

Surendra Sai – A brief introduction

At this background, the revolt launched by Surendra Sai is to be studied. Born at village Khinda, twenty-one miles north of Sambalpur town, Surendra had six brothers namely, Udanta, Dhruba, Ujjala, Chhabila, Jajjla and Medini and the only sister named Anjana. The accomplished manner of Surendra popularised him among the people including the tribals such as Gonds and Binjhals. He came to prominence in 1828 when he challenged the claim of Rani Mohan Kumari to the throne of Sambalpur. Though he had gathered the popular support behind him, his claim was rejected by the British authority. The chain of events that followed one another in the following sequence, led Surendra Sai to raise the standard of revolt.

Support of Zamindars to Surendra

Supported by the zamindars of Khinda, Barapali, Sonepur and Gauntias and his brother Udanta, Surendra revolted against queen Mohan Kumari. Though captain Wilkinson started military operation against them he was unsuccessful in quelling the rebellion. To solve the problem immediately, Wilkinson removed the queen from the throne of Sambalpur and placed one Narayan Singh, an old man of the Chauhan dynasty as king in 1833. His accession to the throne brought a great discontentment among the people of that region. In September 1837, Balabhadra Deo was killed in a skirmish at Debrigarh hills with the British sepoys and Surendra Sai escaped. Durjaya Singh, the only zamindar of Rampur was supporting Narayan Singh. Surendra attacked his house and killed his father and son. Surendra, his brother Udanta and uncle Balarama Singh were captured in 1840. They were sent to the Hazaribag jail as political prisoners. Balarama Singh died there in the jail.

Application of the Doctrine of Lapse in Sambalpur

The death of Raja Narayan Singh on 10 September, 1849 without a male successor brought Sambalpur under the direct control of the British authority by the application of the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. J.H. Crawford, the Agent to the Governor-General, assumed the charge of the administration of Sambalpur. The economic grievances of the people of that region multiplied. With new revenue settlements, the revenue levied upon the people of that area increased. Without giving preference to the natives of the locality, the British authority settled some villages in favour of the Europeans, particularly the English people who by their tyrannical measures extracted more revenue from the people of those villages. This created gross dissatisfaction among all sections of people in Sambalpur. The tribals like Gonds, Binjhals, the feudal chiefs, the business community and the common people, all in a mass, thus became hostile towards the British authority.

The Great Revolt of 1857 and Surendra Sai

The spark of Great Revolt of 1857 reached Hazaribag. The rebellious sepoys broke the two jails of Hazaribag open and liberated many prisoners in August 1857. Surendra Sai and his brother Udanta were released from the jail and fled away towards Sambalpur which created political storm in Sambalpur. Both of them were welcomed by their relatives and the people of Sambalpur at large. Captain R.T. Leigh, the senior Assistant Commissioner of Sambalpur wanted to capture Surendra and his followers.The detachment which he had to receive from 40th Regiment, M.N.I., majority of that joined hands with the rebellious persons under the guidance of Surendra Sai. Now, circumstances compelled Captain Leigh to send *Parwanas* to Surendra for negotiation with the British authority.

The negotiation

The negotiation between the two parties took place on 7 October, 1857, Surendra promised not to revolt, if the British authority would cancel the remaining terms of imprisonment awarded to him and his brother Udanta. Secondly, he should be recognised as the king of Sambalpur. Captain Leigh agreed to the first proposal and told Surendra to stay at Sambalpur with twenty followers for the consideration of the second proposal of the latter.

Fate of Surendra's petition

In the meanwhile, Surendra Sai sent two petitions to the Commissioner of Chhotnagpur with the same prayer. The Commissioner rejected his prayer for the throne and suggested him to stay as a political prisoner at Sambalpur. However, Captain Leigh suggested to deport the Sai brothers to Cuttack. In the meanwhile, detachments were sent to Sambalpur under Captain J. B. Knocker and Captain Hadow. Smelling something odd, Surendra Sai declared open revolt against the British authority on 1 November, 1857.

Strategy of Surendra Sai

The tribal zamindars of Ghens, Kolabira, Paharsirgira, Laida, Loisinga, Lakhanpur, Machida, Kodabaga, Bheden, Patkulanda etc. had joined with Surendra, supporting his cause Surendra stationed his supporters in two strategic places-Jharghati and Khinda. One such party attacked captain Knocker at Jharghati, twelve miles away from Sambalpur and killed one sepoy and wounded another. Another party stopped dak communications on the Cuttack road from Nagpur to Bombay and from Sambalpur to Burma. They brought serious dislocation in the British administration.

British operation against Surendra

The British authority started operation against Surendra Sai. The British troops became sick while fighting with the followers of Surendra in forests. So, G.F. Cockburn, the Commissioner of Cuttack sent two medical officers namely Dr. T. Moore and Dr. D. Hanson with a small troop to look after the health of the British sepoys at Sambalpur forest areas. On 17 November, 1857 the rebels, under the leadership of Madhu Gauntia and

Srikrishna Bera, attacked the two doctors and their party near Jujumura. Dr. Moore fought with the rebels and was killed. Dr. Hanson entered into the jungle and was rescued two days later by the British troops. Of course, captain Leigh visited the spot with fifty soldiers but most of his soldiers were killed and injured by the insurgents.

Steps of Cockburn

This incident led Cockburn to view the matter with grave concern. From Cuttack, he despatched military officers like Captions Wood, Woodbridge, Sweeny, Vallance and others to Sambalpur to help, Captain Leigh. Later on, Cockburn and Major Wyndham reached Sambalpur to carry on direct operation against the insurgents. On the other hand, the rebels took possible measures to oppose the British troops. The British authority threatened the local zamindars and Rajas to be prepared for the confiscation of their property and title if they helped the rebels.Simultaneously, they were also given the offer of several rewards to be conferred upon them, if they helped the Britishers in suppressing the revolt. By the second week of December, 1857, 1500 rebels gathered at Sambalpur. Captain Saxton, the assistant Surveyor General was violently attacked by the rebels. On 17 December, they faced the combined attack of Lieutenant Hadow, Lieutenant Chisttlen and Harinath Singh. The insurgents fled away to jungle being unable to face the cannons of the British troops.

Wood's attack

On 30 December, 1857, Caption E.G. Wood attacked the insurgents at Kudopali. Making the detachment under him fully prepared, Wood showed his retreat.The rebels, being unable to understand the strategy of the Captain, came out from their hiding places and attacked the retreating party. Captain Wood turned back charged his cavalry and killed 53 rebels. Surendra Sai escaped but his brother Chhabila Sai was shot dead. This encouraged the British authority to deal with the rebels more vigorously. On 7 January, 1858, Major Bates besieged the Jharghati Pass and then, attacked Kolabira, a stronghold of the insurgents. Later on, he was joined by Captain Wood.

Murder of Woodbridge

The insurgents were thinking to avenge the murder of Chhabila Sai. Such a chance came on 12 February, 1858. Captain Woodbridge, on that particular day, besieged the fort of Paharasirgida hills. In the battle, Woodbridge was shot dead by the insurgents. Immediately, Captain Leigh, Captain Wood and Captain Dyre marched to the spot. The insurgents avoided fighting with the British troops and fled away to the jungles.Surendra Sai did not lose heart. He moved with his followers to the hills near Dewaree but the British troops appeared there promptly and brought under their control the large store of arms and supplies of the rebels who had left the place with the approach of the British troops.

Steps of Forster

The arrival of Colonel Forster who took over the charge of Sambalpur from Captain Leigh in March 1857, changed the situation dramatically. He arrested the people at random and gave them condime punishment. The Raja of Patna was remitted the fine of Rs. 1,000 imposed upon him previously for giving asylum to Ujjala Sai whom he captured and surrendered to Colonel Forster. He arrested and courtmartialled a large number of suspected rebels.The zamindaries of Kolabira, Karkutta, Bheden, Khorsal, Patkutunda and Rampur were confiscated and offered to zamindar Rai Rup Singh Bahadur as rewards who helped the British to trace out the rebels. Surendra Sai fled to the central provinces and in 1860 encamped in the zamindari of Khurral supported by the *Garjat* chiefs of Raipur. Colonel Forster did not leave his repressive measures in Sambalpur and nearby areas. So, the insurgents did not get any scope to enter into Sambalpur.

Action of the rebels

Inspite of the efforts of Colonel Forster, the rebels under the leadership of Khageswar Deo, killed Trikait Deo of Kusumunda who acted as spy for the British. Receiving help from the *Khalsa* villages of Sambalpur, they made their camp at Barapahar. In the last weak of January 1861, they attacked the village Manpura. It was only because, the people of that village had supported the British authority. The joint operation of Captain J.Smith, Lieutenant R. Dundas, Captain John Dyre and Lieutenant Cornish foiled their attempt and the rebels fled to the territory of Bamara.

Steps of Impey

Major H.B. Impey succeeded to W.R. Forster as the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur in April, 1861. Studying the situation well, he adopted a conciliatory policy towards the rebels. He restored the zamindars their confiscated zamindaries. On 24 September and 11 October, 1861, the proclamation of amnesty were issued granting pardons to all rebels who would surrender. Many rebels and their supporters like the Rajas of Bamara, Sarangagarh and Patna, now came to help the British. Persuasion was made to Surendra Sai for his surrender but he did not pay any heed to it. Since, the plans on Impey bore no fruit, R.N. Shore the Commissioner of Cuttack moved to Sambalpur for military operation against the rebels.

The amnesty

Impey's persuation to Surendra for refraining from such activity, led another proclamation of amnesty in favour of the rebels. This acted like magic and many more rebels surrendered. Still then, rebels like Kartika, Sindhu, Bhuboo, Udanta, Dayal Singh and many others including Surendra Sai did not surrender. They tried to gain public sympathy for the rightful claim of Surendra to the throne of Sambalpur.

Operation of Rattray

The operation of Major Rattray against the rebels in the last week of December broke the spirit of the rebels to a greater extent. This led Surendra Sai to write to Impey about his surrender if his claim for the *gadi* (throne) would be considered which Impey denied. On the other hand, he assured Surendra of liberal provision for his maintenance. Thus, on the historic day of 16 May, 1862, Surendra Sai with his 40 followers, surrendered before Major Impey who guaranted him free pardon. A pension of Rs. 1,200 and an amount of Rs. 4,600 per annum were granted to Surendra Sai and his family respectively. It was decided that Surendra would stay in the village Bargaon.

The British diplomacy

Peace and tranquility now prevailed over Sambalpur. Kunjal Singh and Kamal Singh, the two rebellious leaders did not surrender. They openly declared "A lion has jackles" and were determined to restore the *gadi* of Sambalpur to Surendra Sai by gaining popular support. In March 1863, the Chief Commissioner Richard Temple visited Sambalpur. The prominent persons of the district appealed Richard Temple to restore the Chauhan dynasty to the throne of Sambalpur and that prayer was outrightly rejected by the Chief Commissioner.J.N. Berrill,the Superintendent of Police of Sambalpur, revealed that Surendra had link with the dacoits. It was also suggested that Surendra had instigated the people to make such representation to the Chief Commissioner for his restoration to the *gadi* of Sambalpur. Now, Impey was pressurised to imprison Surendra Sai. However, he rejected that plea and retained his full faith in the honesty and integrity of Surendra Sai.

Harsh steps of Cumberledge

After the death of Major Impey, Major A.B. Cumberledge took over the charge of the administration of Sambalpur as the Deputy Commissioner. He had no faith on the conciliatory policy of Impey. Some British officers like Captain Stewart, the Deputy Inspector General of Police of Chhatisgarh Division and J.N. Berill, the Superintendent of Police of Sambalpur impressed Cumberledge that Surendra Sai and his followers had been planning to wage war against Her Majesty's government. Charged with anger, a party headed by Cumberledge, surrounded the house of Surendra Sai at Bargaon in the night of 23 January, 1864. Of course, Surendra had left the house by that time only to be captured at Sambalpur by the treachery of Dayanidhi. Subsequently, Mitrabhanu Sai, the son of Surendra, Dhruba Sai, Udanta Sai, Dharanidhara Misra and others were captured and imprisoned.

Session Court trial

The trial of Surendra Sai and others began at the Sessions Court at Raipur on 23 June, 1864. J.B. Balmain examined the reports and held Surendra Sai, Udanta, Dhruba, Khageswar Deo and many others guilty for the treason and sentenced them to transportation for life with the confiscation of their all property. The accused rebel leaders appealed to John Scarlett Campbell the judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces against the verdict of the Sessions Court. After hearing the petition, Campbell delivered his judgement on 18 August, 1864 completely reversing the judgement of the Sessions Court. Criticising the proceedings of the lower court, he observed—

> "The proceedings of the Sessions Court are very far from being clear or satisfactory............ . The criminality documents on which the prosecution strongly relies are not put up with the

> proceedings, but only translations, on the other hand, the evidence recorded is lengthened out to a confusing extent by long stories of what the witness heard from others and what they thought, what might have been told against the prisoners is mixed up with what has little or nothing to do with the charges, and altogether the judgement of the Sessions Court is so confused and wanting in point, that it is impossible to deal with it in coming to a judgement in the case."

Death of Surendra Sai

The order of the judicial commissioner completely exposed the malafied intention of the government officers of Sambalpur. However, Richard Temple justified the arrest of Surendra Sai and other rebels by the administrative and police action of the government officers at Sambalpur. Under Regulation III of 1818, Surendra Sai and other six prisoners like Udanta, Dhruba, Medini, Mitrabhanu, Khageswer Deo and Lokanath Panda were ordered to be detained in the Nagpur jail being transferred from Raipur. In 1866, Surendra and others appealed through Attorney M.T. Pearson to the Governor-General-in-Council agaisnt their illegal detention even after their acquittal by the Judicial Commissioner of the Central Province. The petition was rejected by the Governor-General-in-Council. Petitions were filed again in 1871 and 1876. By that time, Medini Sai and Lokanath Panda had already breathed their last. On 22 November, 1876, Dhruba Sai and Mitrabhanu Sai were released by the surety given by the king of Bonai. Udanta died later, on 28 February, 1884, Surendra Sai died in the cell of Asirgarh. With his death, extinguished the last spark of the Sambalpur uprising.

Effects

The effects of the revolt, launched by Surendra Sai were far reaching. Firstly, with the arrest of Surendra Sai and his subsequent imprisonment, peace, tranquility and political stability were restored in Sambalpur. The government officers got a fresh relief from the task of dealing with the rebels. The sleepless nights they had passed inside the jungles and the encounters they had with the rebels, now ended for them.

Secondly, the British authority imposed restrictions on the local zamindars and regulated their activities. Henceforth, they never become the undisputed masters of their localities. P. K. Mishra rightly observes in his book *'Political Unrest of Orissa in the 19th Century'* thus :

> "The system of *bethi* and *begari* was abolished. Besides, effective measures were taken in regard to a regular land revenue settlement in Sambalpur."

In the next place in 1864, Sambalpur was transferred to the Central Province. It created a lot of problems for the administrative authority due to the ethnic and linguistic differences of Sambalpur with the districts of the Central Provinces. As a result of which, Sambalpur was again transferred to the Orissa Division of Bengal in 1905.

Further, the British imperialism was totally felt by the people of that region. The manner in which the claims of Surendra Sai was set aside, the way Surendra and his supporters were allegedly captured and imprisoned after the verdict of the judicial commissioner etc. exposed the British authoritative attitude towards the people of that region. Of course, by these coercive methods, the British government was successful in suppressing the revolt launched against it by Surendra Sai.

Finally, with the suppression of the revolt, Sambalpur remained permanently under the British clutch. No cry for the restoration of the Chauhan dynasty to the *gadi* of Sambalpur was heard hereafter. The revolt proved that whatever powerful might be the local rebels, they could not withstand the British power that ultimately suppressed them.

Nature of the revolt

The revolt launched by Surendra Sai was definitely anti-British in nature. It was a cry against the unlawful annexation of Sambalpur to the British suzerainty ignoring the rightful claim of Surendra Sai. In course of time, not only the local people, zamindars, the kings but the tribal people of Sambalpur and the nearby area at large, supported the cause of Surendra Sai. Primarily, it was an uprising, a resistance movement where the tribal bulk played a dominant role. It was never sudden but a planned one. Of course, the Great Revolt of 1857 of Sepoy Mutiny had facilitated the course of Sambalpur uprising to a greater extent when Surendra Sai was rescued from the Hazaribag jail by the mutineers who broke it and facilitated the escape of Surendra Sai. The popular support extended to Surendra Sai by the local people helped the uprising to gain momentum. The resistance offered by Surendra Sai againt the British authority, was unique in the sense that it paralysed the administration of Sambalpur and the British government failed to suppress it without applying the conciliatory policy from the very beginning which, at last, pacified the movement.

Among the rebels who resisted the British authority in Orissa, the name of Surendra Sai figures prominently. His courage, ambition and spirit with which he fought against the British authority, were commendable. His name had a magic touch which arouse the mass against the British authority of Sambalpur. He died in Asirgarh fort at the age of ninty. For his heroic fights with the Britishers, his name remained as an uneffaceable spot in the heart of the people of this land.

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Chapter – 25

THE FAMINE OF 1866

Nature cast her ugly shadow over the coastal strip of Orissa in 1866 when foot steps of the great famine were heard over this land. The carelessness of the British administrators in charge of Orissa Division coupled with natural calamity and economic disasters, brought this catastrophe. No doubt, one-third of the total population of Orissa perished by the disastrous famine but the aftermath situation created an echo of pathos, mainly, in the undivided coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore. This severe famine is also known as the *'Na-Anka* Famine' because it took place in the ninth regnal year of Gajapati Divyasinghadeva. The calamity was so devastative that its tragic memory was quite uneffaceable from the mind of the people of Orissa for at least some decades.

Causes of the Famine – Ceasing of rain

The causes of the severe famine were many. Firstly, the drought of 1865 served as the potential factor for the famine of 1866. In 1865, the monsoon began early and during October-November, there was no rainfall. The lands became dry and the crops were totally destroyed coming under the scorching sun. In that year, as the data reveals, one-third of the total annual produce was reaped by the cultivators. The peasants could not preserve food-stuff in that year.

Careless export of foodgrains

Careless export of food grains was another cause for the outbreak of the famine of 1866. Export of different varieties of rice from Orissa was in a massive scale every year. On an average, 20,000 tons of rice were exported annually from Orissa as the records of the last six years, preceeding 1866, revealed. In 1865, 33,000 tons of rice were imported from Orissa by the wealthy *Telingah Koomtees* of Madras Presidency who sold the rice to a French company named Messers Robert and Chariol Co., thereby earning heavy profit. By this export, the entire surplus of the year 1864, was exhausted. The British government also did not import food grains in 1865 when the rain stopped abruptly.

Abolition of Salt monopoly

Abolition of salt monopoly in 1863 by the British government brought untold misery to the people of coastal Orissa. It deprived 26,000 *Malangis* (salt manufacturers) of earning their livelihood. Prior to the British occupation of Orissa, the *Malangis* were trading with the salt and earning their livelihood. The Marathas, though extracted more revenue from the people of Orissa, never intervened in the business of the *Malangis*. After the British occupation of Orissa, the Britishers wanted to have their monopoly over the manufacture and sale of salt. As necessity compelled, the East India Company now engaged the

Malangis in its service and paid them wages. Though the wage was very low, the *Malangis* somehow or other, sustained their families. When fine quality of salt from Liverpool entered into the Orissan market, in 1860 the East India Company now wanted to facilitate its sale. As a result of this policy, now the East India Company abruptly stopped the manufacture of salt. So, in 1863, twenty six thousands of *Malangis* lost their job. Private manufacture of salt was discouraged. The condition of the *Malangis* became deplorable. They could not engage themselves in cultivation to earn some wages due to abrupt stoppage of rain. The British government did not arrange any job for them. Thus, their condition became wretched and they drank the cup of misery.

Deplorable economic condition of the people

Agriculture, as discussed earlier formed the chief occupation of the people in Orissa. The thirty years revenue settlement which had been introduced in Orissa by the East India Company in 1837, was to expire in 1866. Apprehending the enhancement of revenue, the people considerably reduced the area under cultivation from 1864. This principle was adopted with a view to show less possession of land at the time of settlement which will fix less revenue on a land-holder. The British government had studied the mind of these people well. So, it deliberately delayed the process of settlement which they would have started during the year 1864. The people of Orissa did not get a scent of it. With the reduction of cultivable land from 1864, the reduction in production became inevitable. Ultimately, it definitely weakened the economic condition of the people of this land.

No improvement of agriculture

Further, the East India Company did not pay attention for the improvement of agriculture in Orissa after the occupation of the land. The British authorities, even after the Great Revolt of 1857, did not start irrigation facility in Orissa. The farmers of the land had to depend entirely on monsoon for cultivation. In 1865, the rainfall ceased in September and by the end of October, rice became scarce and costly. It not only increased the plights of the peasants but also of the zamindars who thought it difficult to pay revenue in time. On 26 October, 1865, Muspratt, the Collector of Balasore forwarded a petition of the local zamindars who had prayed for the postponement of revenue due to inability of the peasants to pay rent for failure of crops. However, the higher authorities, in the helm of British administration, did not pay attention to this stern reality.

Poor linkage

The lack of communication facility served as another potent factor for the outbreak of the famine. The unmetalled road linked Orissa with Calcutta and it was intersected by a number of unbridged rivers that discouraged the traders of Orissa to have any trade link with Calcutta. During rainy season, it was practically impossible to have a link with Calcutta because coastal Orissa had no harbour. Even if the government had desired to import food grains from Calcutta, it failed miserably in that task because due to monsoon, the plan could not be materialised. Had there been a good communication facility between Orissa and Calcutta, the government would have easily brought food grains from Calcutta to meet the demand of the people of Orissa.

Stagnation of Government machineries

The stagnation of the government machineries was largely responsible to aggravate the situation. In fact, there was no link between the ruler and the ruled. The English officers did not visit the remote villages. So, they were quite ignorant about the condition of the local people. Had they visited the villages regularly, they would have known about the plights of the people. Even, Thomas Erric Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa, could not know about the miserable condition of the people.

Hoarding of rice

The government also failed miserably to control trade and commerce properly. The rice merchants joined hands during the famine. The hoarded rice and created artificial scarcity in the market. So, price of rice rose up higher and higher. The government would have regulated trade and commerce by taking those traders into task and fixing a reasonable price of rice which was essential goods. So, the merchants got an upper hand by monopolising the sell of rice at high price which made the condition of the common people miserable.

During that period, there was no strong native intelligentia to draw the attention of the British government to such a tragic condition of the land. Had it been so, the government would have felt the pulse of the situation and would have taken precautionary measure to deal with the situation.

Absence of media

By that time, there was no media to highlight the situation. No local daily was being published which would have reflected the pathetic condition of this land and the government would have taken notice of it. Though, G.N. Barlow, the Collector of Puri, Ramakoy Chatterjee, the Deputy Collector and some police officers had drawn the attention of the government regarding the famine and Muspratt, the Collector of Balasore had given hints about it to the Commissioner, these stray reference were uncared for. Had there been any popular daily, it would have reflected these things drawing the attention of the government towards it.

Lack of education

The lack of education on the part of the people of Orissa was largely responsible for the inevitability of the famine of 1866. This had made the people intellectually backward. So, they could not understand the gravity of the situation and further, they did not conceive in their mind the possible disadvantages which they were suppose to face in future. The government received no complain from the people and could not apprehend any possible danger. Had there been an enlightened mass in Orissa, they would have definitely ventilated their grievances regarding the calamity before the government.

Responsibility of T. E. Ravenshaw

Finally, Thomas Erric Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa was largely responsible for the outbreak of the famine. As he was new to this land, he had no idea about the economic misery of the people. Further, he took the references of his subordinate officers casually and failed to realise the gravity of the situation. Had he taken it seriously and geared up the government machineries, Orissa would not have come under the grip of terribel famine.

The Famine

The causes mentioned earlier were responsible for the outbreak of famine. The faine became devastative

Footsteps of famine

The famine began in October, 1865 when there was acute shortage of food grains in the market. As discussed earlier, G.N. Barlow, the Collector of Puri wrote to T.E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner regarding this alarming situation. Not resorting to any relief-measure, T.E. Ravenshaw wrote to Bengal government as such :

> "There is no doubt plenty of grain in the country, and I am confident that sooner or later it will find its way into the market. I have impressed on all who have applied to me the necessity of patience and the entire non-interference with the natural course of trade, as the demand will certainly regulate the supply eventually."

Initial reports on famine

Barlow's information regarding the starvation death at Parikud and Malud did not make Ravenshaw worry. Barlow had suggested to undertake public works by paying wage in terms of food grains to labourers as grains were not available in the local markets. The Bengal government sanctioned money for the construction of road but denied of paying the labourers in terms of food grain. No food grains were imported from outside. At the early part of December 1865, Ravenshaw suggested for the formation of relief committees and went on long tours to the Tributary Mahals.

The early step

Ravenshaw returned from tour on 31 January, 1866 and on the same day, sent an urgent telegram to the Calcutta government as such :

> "Famine relief is at stand still. Public Works Department refuses to advance money to collectors to purchase rice. May I authorise advance for this purpose for Cuttack, Balasore and Puri."

The government from Calcutta replied that all payments to the workers by made in cash. Accordingly, Ravenshaw issued orders to the Collectors and disapproved the distribution of cooked food in relief centres. The distressed people did not like to take cash as wage, rather they needed a few grains of food. The sufferings of people at Puri and Balasore knew no bound.

Visit of Sir Cecil Beadon

Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, visited Cuttack from 13 to 19 February, 1866. Neither he carefully visualised the situation, nor the government servants projected the true picture of the famine before him out of fear. In his speech, he advised the Rajas and local zamindars to redress the grievances of the people by providing them relief. The condition worsened when, by the end of March, the jails were overcrowded with criminals who had committed crimes simply to get food inside the jail. The gravity of the situation was fully realised by the Commissioner himself when the hungry mob trampled him down at Balasore on his return journey from Mayurbhanj in March, 1866. Then, he immediately wrote to the Board of Revenue and his letter was uncared for. At last in May, when Ravenshaw insisted upon to provide ration to the troops at Cuttack to feed the prisoners and hungry people, the Board ordered for the import of rice.

Breaking of monsoon

When the government was planning to import rice and virtually sanctioned Rs. 25,00,000 for the same in the last week of June, monsoon had already been started. It was practically impossible to import food due to lack of communication, as stated earlier. Even when rice reached Cuttack after August, Orissa fell in the grip of a devastating flood in September. Inspite of the distribution of cooked food in 88 centres, the death toll was heavy due to epidemics like Cholera. At last, these relief centres were also closed down. The mortality was around 1,000,000, nearly one-third of the population of the province as per the calculation of the government.

Gearing up of the Government machineries

From July to October, 1866, the government machineries were geared up to deal with this alarming situation. The Public Works Department adopted different measures in which grains were given as wage. The East India Irrigation Company also undertook 'Food for Work' programme. The government created Famine Relief Fund. Several relief committes were created under the direct supervision of a special Commissioner to look after the relief measures and sanitary conditions of the people at Puri, Cuttack and Balasore districts.

End of the famine

Further, public donations were collected by the government from the Rajas, zamindars and wealthy persons and distributed among the poor and destitutes. Some relief in cash was granted to thatch houses and for repairing the same.The orphan boys and girls were paid rupees three each per month. For the marriage of each orphan girl, rupees twenty were given. Free medical service and medicine were provided to the people. Christian missionaries rendered habitual service to the poor and destitutes. The zamindars were granted remission of revenues with the condition that, in retrospect, they would remit the revenue for the *royat.* An extra allowance was granted to the government servants to meet the high cost of living. By adopting such measures, the government became successful in meeting the famine-stricken people of Orissa. By December,1867, the famine was declared as over. By that time, sufficient relief measures had been provided to the people of Orissa. The farmers had been supplied adequate seed-grains through the zamindars. The government also supplied the same to them in cheap price.

Report of the Enquiry Commission

In December 1866, by the order of the secretary of State for India, an enquiry commission was formed to enquire into the causes, circumstances and extent of the famine. It consisted of three members—George Campbell, the President, W.E. Morton and H.L. Dampier, the two members. On 6 April, 1867, the Orissa Famine Commission submitted its report. As per the views of the members of this commission, besides inevitable circumstances, negligence of administrative authorities and errors of certain individual officers were responsible for such a catastrophe. To import rice in the early part of 1866, would have benefitial for the people but the order was placed after the middle of 1866 and it was impossible to procure foodgrains as the monsoon had already set in. The report of the committee to this effect runs thus :

> "Orissa was by that time almost isolated from the rest of India; the only road, leading to Calcutta across a country intersected by large rivers and liable to inundation was unmetalled and unbridged and there was very little communication by sea............"

Further, the committee observed the peculiarity of the administration of Orissa directed from Bengal Presidency. The Famine Commission observed :

> "........it may be said that the country is administered judicially and not by the executive power. The executive runs but does not govern. It....... avoids interference with the affairs of the mass of the people."

Thomas Erric Ravenshaw was made largely responsible for the aggravated situation. He could not study the situation properly for which it reached the nadir point. Further, Cecil Beadon failed to conduct personal enquiry into the situation in Orissa. His superficial study of the circumstances made the situation worse.

Results

The results of the *Na-Anka* famine were far reaching. It exposed the failure of the administrative machineries in Orissa to look after the people. A hot debate took place on August, 1867 in the House of Commons in England. Sir Strafford Northcote, the Secretary of state for India, pacified the members by saying as such :

> "The catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, to the Government of this country and to those of our Indian officials of whom we had been perhaps a little too proud. At the same time, we must hope that we might derive from it lessons which might be of real value to ourselves, and that out of this deplorable evil good of no significant kind might ultimately arise."

Loss of population

Of course, the immediate results of the famine were sorrowful. It took away the one-third population of Orissa. The people left villages and came to towns. Wife left husband, parents sold their children for food and crimes were multiplied. Chaos and confusion prevailed everywhere in Orissa. Epidemics followed the famine and made the life of people more miserable.

A blessing in disguise

The famine of 1866 was a blessing in disguise. It ushered a new epoch in the field of administration in Orissa. The authoritative attitude and carelessness of the government were relegated to the distant background. On the otherhand, government adopted sympathetic attitude towards the people of Orissa. Besing on the recommendation of the Famine Commission of Orissa, the Government of India framed famine relief policies for the entire counrty. Much emphasis was put upon the system of village relief adopted during the Orissa famine and it was incorporated in Famine Codes for future guidance.

Benevolent measures

The government in Orissa adopted certain benevolent measures. By the efforts of T.E. Ravenshaw the construction and improvement of the embankment in Banki and Aul took place. For the promotion of trade and commerce, Orissa was linked with other provinces through Pucca roads. To facilitate transport and communication, railway lines passed from Bengal to distant South via Orissa.

Steps of T. E. Ravenshaw

T. E. Ravenshaw galvanised the government machineries for the promotion of education in Orissa. He established a number of vernacular schools in the rural area. He put emphasis on the Oriya language which should form the medium of instruction. In order to educate the Oriya youths, he converted the Cuttack Zilla School into Ravenshaw College, which formed as nucleus of educational activities in the state. In later period, this premier institution produced a galaxy of brilliant students who distinguished themselves in various fields. He was also instrumental for the establishment of a medical school and a training school in 1866 and 1869 respectively, at Cuttack.

The famine of 1866 proved to be a turning point in the history of modern Orissa. The famine of 1866 was memorable in many ways. By expanding the mental horizon of the Oriyas through the new system of education, facilitating their communication with outer world through construction of roads and railway lines in a massive scale, thereby breaking its economic and geographical isolation and giving a passport to the people of Orissa to enter into modern civilisation. On the otherhand, the tragic scene, which it created, became very difficult to be effaced from the memory of her people. The traumatic shock, which it gave to the people of this land by disrupting the social life at large, was unbearable and people took many years to burry the bitter memory of this catastrophe.

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Chapter – 26

MAHIMA DHARMA

When the entire India was enlightened with the rays of Nineteenth century Renaissance, Orissa was not an exception to it. However, Orissa's Renaissance was different because it bloomed from a very rural set up being uninfluenced by any western education. In thought and expression, it emerged in its own unique way. Through simple doctrines it projected many complicated theories. It raised voice against Saivism, Shaktism, Vaishnavism and other Brahmanical religious faiths. The founder of this *dharma* was Mahima Gosain. By the efforts of Bhima Bhoi, the blind poet, it was spread in the nook and corner of Orissa. Gradually, by the efforts of the monks of this *dharma* it found its way to Bengal, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

Founder of the Cult

The founder of Mahima Dharma is Mahima Swami or Mahima Gosain. He appeared in Puri around 1826 from which started *Mahimabda*. He slept on sand and so people called him *'Dhulia Gosain'*. He carried on discussion are garding Non-Dualism with the Pandits of Mukti Mandapa inside the Jagannath temple and opposed the idol-worship. He lived at Udaygiri, Khandagiri, Dhauli and at last reached Kapilas in the Dhenkanal district. He wore the bark of Kumbhi tree. Bhagirathi Mahindra Bahadur, the king of Dhenkanal sent milk for him early in the morning. Mahima Gosain made Govinda Das as his first disciple and gradually many disciples including the great Biswanath Baba were created. Bhima Bhoi of Rairakhol become his disciple. Through his great literary creation like *Stuti Chintamani, Brahmanirupana Gita, Nirveda Sadhana, Chautisa Madhuchakra, Adyanta Gita, Astakabihari Gita* etc., he popularised the Mahima Cult. From 1862 to 1867 Mahima Dharma spread like wild fire in the nook and corner of Orissa. Mahima Gosain breathed his last in 1867. His great disciple Bhima Bhoi also met his end in 1895. The disciples of Mahima Gosain became famous as Abadhuta monks.

Life of Bhima Bhoi

Bhima Bhoi played a key role for the spread of Mahima Cult. Most probably he was born in 1855 at Rairakhol in Kondh family. His father was Dhaneswar Bhoi and mother was Gauri. Bhima Bhoi was born-blind. However, historians differ from each other on this question. Prof. K.C. Panigrahi opines that Bhima was never blind. By coming in contact with Mahima Gosain, Bhima got insight or direct knowledge and was indoctrinated by him into Mahima Dharma.

After being an Abadhut it is not known whether Bhima Bhoi stayed in Rairakhol or came to Joranda. Still then, it is sure that he spent a long time in Joranda and tried to popularise Mahima Cult. He composed many songs which were liked by the people and they were automatically attracted towards the Mahima Cult. Of course, the rival sects spoke ill of Bhima and tried to prevent the spread of Mahima Cult. Bhima was determined to spread the cult be that as it might. Him immortal creations included *'Stuti Chintamani', 'Shrutinisedha Gita', 'Brahmanirupana Gita', Adyantagita', 'Chautisa Madhuchakra', 'Nirveda Sadhana'* etc. Most probably he died in 1895 at Khariapali village in Sonepur. Really his efforts popularised the Mahima Cult in the nook and corner of Orissa.

Doctrines of Mahima Dharma

Monotheism

Mahima Gosain preached his doctrine in Oriya language. His idea found expression through the writings of Bhima Bhoi, who expressed it very lucidly and placidly. The teachings of Mahima Gosain bore no influence of other religion. In its own way the Mahima cult spread its fragrance everywhere and allured the attention of the people. The teachings of Mahima dharma are as follows :

Non-Dualism

Mahima dharma preaches pure Non-Dualism. According to it, God is one and next to none. He is omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent. He is the supreme soul and the cause of the creation of the world. He is also without form *(Nirakara)*, unexpressable *(Avyakta)*, without body *(Adeha)*, without name *(Anama)*, without any feeling *(Nirvikara)* and supreme God *(Paramesvara)*. He is present starting from the insect to the man. Equality is his motto and casts equal eye on everybody. Thus writes Bhima Bhoi—

> "Behold !
> From immovable to movable from insect to still smaller creatures,
> God is Present in everybody no more no less."

Teacher or *Guru* occupies a pivotal position in the teachings of Mahima Gosain. A teacher or *Guru* can show the path of Salvation. Without him practice of dharma is meaningless. He can show path to a disciple and guide him for attaining Salvation. Bhima Bhoi has mentioned that without the grace of Mahima Gosain, he would not have realised the God. In his *Brahmanirupana Gita,* he writes—

> "O Guru ! You are the giver of Salvation.
> This body and soul is created by your order."

Thus, Guru occupies a very high position among the Avadhuta monks.

Theory of Creation

Regarding the 'Theory of Creation' Mahima Gosain has preached his own view. By the mixing of atom, *Purusa* and *Prakriti,* this world is not craeted. It has been created by the *Alekha Prabhu.* He is pure and without any vice. He is the root of all creations and causes. so, he should be worshipped as the creator of the universe.

Denial of ideal worship

Like Buddhism and Jainism, Mahima dharma raised voice against the superstitions of Brahmanism. He prescribed only one course of worship to the Alekha. To worship different idols is a false method. So, only formless Brahma is to be worshipped. Without him, if one worships any idol, he resorts to falsehood. In *Stuti Chintamani,* Bhima Bhoi writes—

> "The Gods and Goddesses are made of soil and stone.
> Never pray them in mind
> For salvation through proper attention
> I pray and only pray you-the creator !"

Opposition to caste system

Mahima Dharma raised voice against the caste system. It never distinguished between men and women, higher caste and lower caste, rich and poor and so on. The wise men never differentiate among caste, creed and sex. On the other hand, they try to maintain harmony and peace among the people. So, Mahima Dharma never put any resttiction for the worship of God. Only through devotion God can be attained. Everyone is competent to worship God and attain him. Bhima Bhoi writes—

> "No harm if any one chants the name of God
> Every man and woman can pray Him
> Brahman never distinguished between high and low
> Bhima, thus, suggests
> To chant the name of Nirguna Brahma."

Thus, caste system was opposed tooth and nail by the followers and preachers of Mahima dharma.

The universe a single family

The Mahima doctrine conceived the whole universe as a single family and desires the welfare of all. Hapiness for all and peace to all is the motto of Mahima dharma. Even, the life of one may be tinged with sorrows and sufferings but he should pray for the happiness of others. There lies the true humanity. This gospel found its fullest expression in the words of Bhima Bhoi as such—

> "Who can bear the untold miseries of people
> Let my life go to hell but the world may be rescued."

Common Meal for all

'Common meal for all' or *Satsanga Gosthi* was another remarkable aspect of Mahima Dharma. This was started by Mahima Swami himself who started it at Kashipur in Dhenkanal to show that "all souls are equal, because they worship the one Brahman." The food for all is prepared by the household devotees under the open sky. This is parallel with the Upanishadic doctrine *'Sahano Bhunaktu'* (Let all eat together).

Bisuddhaadvaita Brahumavada

Mahima Dharma was essentially a Bhakti Cult. Its philosophy is *Visuddha-advaita Brahmaveda*. It was close affinity with *Advaita Vada* of Samkaracharya which advocates exclusively *Jnana* as the only means to salvation. Thus, it is clear that there is no antagonism between Jnana and Bhakti in Mahima Dharma. *Bhakti* in Mahima Dharma means the attraction of the pure mind towards the ultimate truth— the *Parama Brahma*. *Bhakti* is to be guided by *Jnana*. Otherwise it is likely to miss true its true object. Mahima Dharma says that lover God is pure and the lover wants to unite with God. Thus, to love God is to be rational and to be love God is to be rational.

Mahima Dharma put much emphasis on values of human life. It wanted to free society from the load of intellecmality. Bhima Bhoi wrote—

"What a drift !
Struggle and conflict reign supreme in heart
Society, shorn of all good will
Ill-knotted are the breathern
Shrouded are truth with passion and illusion,
Vain will control the heart
Oh, I feel my life heavy !"

Emphasis on values

In order to get rid of all these falsehood one should combine divine qualities in himself. Accordingly one should cultivate qualities like love, compassion, tranquility etc. in one's mind which will bring fullness of heart.

The Mahima Cult prescribed certain ethical codes for the householders. It preached about the entertainment of guests as per the best Doctrines for householders capacity of a householder. One should leave meat and pervicious goods. A householder should be simple. He should leave anger, conceit and pride. After all he should possesses a good moral conduct. For householders, Mahima dharma laid emphasis on *Brahma darshana*, *Trividha Sarana* and other religious performances. Thus, a well regulated life was the motto of the Mahima cult for creating a healthy social structure.

Thus conceived, Mahima Cult was quite simple. The common men were attracted towards it because it was free from the ritualistic practices of the Brahmins. Though it arose in Orissa during the time of Nineteenth Century Renaissance but it was never influenced by the latter. Definitely in its doctrine it was quite different from other religious sects, uninfluenced and unbiased by the prevailing currents of time. It spread spontaneously and quickly in the nook and corner of Orissa and even crossed its boundary.

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Chapter – 27

FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN ORISSA

India's struggle for freedom had its influence on Orissa. The people of Orissa also took part in the Non-co-operation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement. Their enthusiasm was unfathomable. They plunged into the freedom struggle with zeal and daringness.

THE NON -COOPERATION MOVEMENT

The participation of Gopabandhu Das in the Indian National Congress inspired the people of Orissa to join in the movement. Gandhiji's visit to Orissa in 1921 galvanised the congressional movent. The Non-Cooperation Movement assured the attention of millions of people in Orissa. From this time onwards, freedom struggle in Orissa became vigorous.

Leadership of Gopabandhu Das

In the Calcutta session of 1920, Gandhiji proposal on Non-co-operation was accepted by and large. In the Nagpur session too it received over-whelming endorsement. After his return from the Calcutta session, Gopabandhu dreamt of spreading the message of Non-co-operation throughout Orissa. Under his presidentship, the first Pradesh Congress Committee was set up in Orissa. In 1921 its Vice-President was Dr. Ekram Rasool. As per the Non-co-operation Movement's proposal, the Orissa Pradesh Congress boycotted the elections, and Gopabandhu asked the people of Orissa to spread Gandhiji's message of Non-co-operation to every nook and corner of Orissa. He nominated several leaders like Bhagirathi Mohapatra for Cuttack Sadar, Krupasindhu Mishra for Puri district, Harekrushna Mahatab for Balasore, Niranjan Pattanayak for Ganjam, Nilakantha Das for Sambalpur, to direct the Non-co-operation Movement in their respective areas.

Gandhiji's visit to Orissa

To make the Non-co-operation movement popular in Orissa, Gandhiji visited Orissa in 1921. On 23 March 1921, he reached Cuttack and on the sandy bed of the Kathjuri river addressed a mammoth crowd. He went round Bhadrak, Puri and Berhampur and addressed thousands of people and created an inexplicable excitement in them. Gandhiji laid stress on he use of Khadi, the significance of the spinning wheel and the use of Swadeshi goods. The people of Orissa contributed generously to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Women even gave away their ornaments. They blew conches and beat other instruments to welcome Gandhiji amidst cries of **'Gandhiji Ki Jai'**. Such sportaneous enthusiasm gave a boost to the Non-co-operation Movement in Orissa.

Non-co-operation in Orissa : Boycott of educational institutions

To make the movement successful in Orissa, multi-pronged strategy was adopted. As a preliminary step, students quit British run educational institutions under the leadersbip of Jagannath Misra, Laxmi Narayan Misra and Nrusingh Guru of the Sambalpur district school, many students left study and joined the Non-co-operation Movement. After this students from the Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts left school and jumped into the fray. Students of Ravenshaw College also gave up classes. Notable leaders of later years like Harekrushana Mahatab, Naba Krishna Choudhury, Nityananda Kanungo, Jadumani Mangaraj also gave up studies. Not only this, Orissa set up national schools. For the first time, under the leadership of Gopabandhu Das the **'Satyabadi Bana Vidyalaya'** had been established at Sakshigopal. Schools were then set up at Cuttack, Chakradharpur, Berhampur, Balasore, Bastā, Soro, Parlakhemundi. The 'Utkal Swaraj Sikhsha Parishad' was established at Cuttack.

Establishment of Ashrams

For training workers to participate in the Non-co-operation movement and for giving them shelter, Ashrams were set up at different places. The earliest of its kind was the *Swaraj Ashram* at Cuttack. Gopabandhu Chowdhury took the initiative in establishing the *Alaka Ashram* at Jagatsinghpur. Karunakar Panigrahi and Harekrushna Mahatab set up the *Swaraj Mandir* at Balasore. In a similar vein several other Ashrams were set up at Bhadrak, Soro, Puri and Sakshigopal. To coordinate the activities of students participating in the movement, the *Swaraj Sevak Sangh* was established at Cuttack.

Resignation from government service

Government servants gave up their titles and resigned from their posts. Gopabandhu Chowdhury spearheaded the move by resigning from the post of Deputy Magistrate of Baragarh. Purna Chandra Das and Raghunath Misra resigned from government schools and gave up teachership. Kshetra Mohan Mohanty and Hari Charan Mohanty gave up their clerical posts. Pandit Lingraj Mishra, Professor of Sanskrit in Muzafarpur Government College, resigned from his post. From the Calcutta University Pandit Nilakantha Dash resigned from the post of Professor of Oriya. In Balasore, Surendra Nath Das quit his post as Sub-inspector and in Bhadrak, Mohammed Hanif resigned from the post of Excise Sub-inspector. In a like manner different people from different parts of Orissa gave up government service and received much adulation from the people.

Boycotting foreign goods

The people of Orissa were determined to boycott foreign goods. Cloth merchants of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Sambalpur were instigated by the Non-co-operation not to import foreign textiles. On 6 August 1921 foreign clothes were set fire at Puri. On 11 and 14 August huge bundles of foreign textiles were gathered and a bonfire was made. Oriya labourers working in the Calcutta cloth mill refused to carry foreign clothes to the shops. A protest demonstration was staged to the Orissa during the visit of the Prince of Wales to Bombay. Foreign liquor was boycotted in Orissa. People took a vow not to accept anything that was foreign-made.

Boycott of Courts

Another method adopted in Orissa was the boycott of courts. In fact, for quite some time now Gopabandhu Das had given up legal practice. In Cuttack Bhagirathi Mohapatra and in Sambalpur Achyutananda Purohit and Mahendranath Verma gave up legal practice and joined the Non-co-operation movement. At Srijang in Balasore, Gour Mohan Das and Banchhanidhi Mohanty in Bhadrakh, set up private legal chambers to provide legal advice to the local people. In Tirtol and Puri too many private legal cells were set up to help people in legal matters. This resulted in a tremendous boost to Non-co-operation movement in Orissa. The zamindars, who exploited the farmers did not dare to approach these private legal chambers.

Prohibition

The other aim of Non-co-operation in Orissa was prohibition. The non-co-operators advised drunkards to refrain from drinking. Rallies and demonstrations were staged in front of foreign liquor shops and a total ban was clamped on the sale of foreign liquor. This deprived the British government of a major source of revenue. Besides liquor traders were advised not to import liquor. Even breweries manufacturing country-made liquor were advised to close down their shops. People were made aware of the evil effects of drinking. The prohibition programme as a whole was quite successful.

Repression by the Government

Repression by the British increased in direct proportion to the success of Non-co-operation in Orissa. Gopabandhu Das was Jailed for a month for an article he published in the daily 'Samaj'. Justice Suresh Chandra Bose however, found him without any guilt and acquitted him. The repurcussions of the suspension of the movement by Gandhiji after the Chauri-Chaura incident, were felt the Orissa. Congress leaders in Orissa too suspended the movement. The British, emboldened by this act, emerged with double vigour and arrested Harekrushna Mahatab, Mathura Mohan Behera, Kamruddin Haque, Banchhanidhi Mohanty, Balram Das, Daitari Sahu and other leaders on some pretext or the other. For having printed the **'Swaraj Sangeet'** the Misra Press of Sambalpur was fined Rupees 25. Several cases of burning were witnessed at Puri, Balasore, Kendrapara and Cuttack. The police in many cases had to resort to lathi charge to suppress the non-co-operators.

The Kanika rebellion

Moving along the tide of Non-co-operation the people of Kanika rebelled against authorities. Students quit the 'Raja Rajendra Narain High School' and incited farmers to join them. In 1922 the king of Kanika appealed to the British for help. Since a court peon and two peons in the royal service were manhandled by the people, the police arrested five persons. When the irritated mob tried to rescue them. The police superintendent Srikrishna Mohapatra ordered firing upon the people. As a result at Patapur two persons Basu Sethi and Bishuni Madhual were killed and many others were injured. The 'Samaj' and 'Utkal Dipika' regularly published about the atrocities at Kanika. The leaders of the movement were forbidden entry into Kanika. Since Gopabandhu Das and Bhagirathi Mohapatra refused to obey, they were arrested and sent to the Hazaribagh Jail. Kanika bears testimony to the oppression of the British during the last phase of the Non-co-operation movement in Orissa and it still bears a tearful memory.

Results of the Non-co-operation movement

The consequences of the Non-co-operation movement in Orissa were far-reaching. It expanded the horizon of the Khadi and 'Charkha' movement in Orissa. There was a tumultous acceptance to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in Orissa. Leaders like Gopabandhu Das, Ekram Rasool, Gopabandhu Chowdhury, Harekrushna Mahatab became extremely popular in Orissa. The fuel to the peasant agitation in Kanika was provided by the Non-co-operation movement in Orissa. This movement ignited the fire of revolt in the hearts of Oriyas against the British and it prepared the people of Orissa for a greater and nobler struggle in future.

Indeed the Non-co-operation movement was another milestone in India's freedom struggle. It created an overwhelming consciousness among the people of Orissa. In the field of prohibition and manufacturing of Swadeshi goods and their distribution, the Non-co-operation movement in Orissa was successful to a very large extent. The visit of Gandhiji to Orissa at this opportune moment helped Orissa in merging with the natural main stream.

THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN ORISSA

The Civil Disobedience Movement created another milestore in the freedom struggle in Orissa. Gopabandhu Chaudhury, Acharya Harihar, Ramadevi and many other celebrities made this movement a grand success in Orissa. Inchudi in Balasore district became 'Second Dandi' so far as Civil Disobedience Movement was concerned.

Civil disobedience in Orissa

In 1929, in Lahore session of the INC, under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru, the proposal for Purna Swaraj was accepted. Turned down by the Viceroy Lord Irwin, Gandhiji had no alternative but to launch the civil disobedience movement in 1930. On 28 February 1930, the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee convened a meeting. Here Gopabandhu Chowdhury was given the responsibility of leading the civil disobedience movement in Orissa. The 'Satyagrahis' were divided into various segments like *'Lauhastamba (Iron Pillar) Vahini', 'Patitapaban Vahini', 'Ganjam Vahini', 'Sambalpur Vahini'*. Thus the groundwork for the movement was prepared in Orissa.

Beginning of the movement : Balasore

Inchudi in Balasore was the first place in Orissa where the Salt Satyagraha would be launched. Harekrushna Mahatab and Surendra Nath Das were given the charge of bringing together the Satyagrahis of Balasore. They worked over-night to activate the campaign. Leading the Satyagrahis Gopabandhu Chowdhury made plans to start his march from Cuttack to Balasore. He was arrested on 8 August 1930. Hence Acharya Harihar took the leadership in leading the Satyagrahis to Balasore. After him Madan Mohan Patnaik led the 'Lauhastamba Vahini' and marched towards Balasore. Other Vahinis also turned towards Balasore. On 12 April 1930 Acharya Harihar and the Satyagrahis moved towards Inchudi from Balasore. Throughout the route they were garlanded by men and women. On 13 April, in the presence of thousands of people Acharya Harihar grabbed a handful of salty soil on the Inchudi sea-coast and thus broke the salt law. He and other Satyagrahis were promptly arrested.

Meanwhile preparation of salt was on in the Satyagrahi camps. When Gopabandhu Chowdhury reached Balasore, he along with Mahatab and others were arrested. After Inchudi the next Satyagraha camp was set up at Sartha. Smt. Rama Devi and Malati Devi arrived at Balasore, got together many local women and sarted preparing salt. Women from nearby villages like Tundra, Boita, Kuligaon Rasalpur, Kaspa joined the movement with great enthusiasm. Initially the police resorted to lathicharge but subsequently rescinded from the act. Fearing a major law and order problem, the British were forced to remain silent spectators to the activities of the Satyagrahis.

Cuttack

At Kujang in the Cuttack district, Salt Satyagraha was started. The Maharani of Kujang, Bhagyabati Patamahadei joined the movement. Besides Kujang, camps were set up at Paradip, Ersama, Chatua, Daudia and preparation of salt continued unabated. Narayan Birabar Samant led the movement in Kujang. Rama Devi and Malatidevi were accompanised by other leaders like Niranjan Ghosh, Binode Kanungo, Bira Kishore Das and Surendra Patnaik, who moved from village to village to spread the movement.

Puri

At Kakatpur in the Puri district, the salt satyagraha was started. Pandit Nilakantha Das worked relentlessly to make the movement more active in places like Astaranga, Khandasahi, Singheswari, Kuhuri. On 22 May 1930, the police resorted to lathicharge to suppress the satyagrahis. Nilakantha Das and other leaders were arrested. But it did not dampen the spirit of the satyagrahis. The satyagrahis continued with their work with great excitement while disdainfully looking down upon police atrocities.

Ganjam

In Ganjam Biswanath Das and Niranjan Patnaik took the leadership of the movement. On 7 May 1930, Niranjan Patnaik broke the salt law at Ganjam. At Ganjam and Huma, Congress leaders activated the movement. Under the leadership of Radhakrishna Bisweswarray many young satyagrahis from Koraput joined the salt satyagrahis in Ganjam. Though at first the police remained silent, later it arrested Niranjan Patnaik. Sarala Devi too was arrested. Even then the movement could not be suppressed in Ganjam. Apart from Huma and Ganjam it spread to Laxmipur, Pallibund and Jayantigarh.

Other aspects of the movement : social Ostracization

Apart from preparation of salt, the movement looked into other areas too. The British government and the people supporting them were socially ostracized. At Rasalpur in Balasore, the youthful leader Sardar Surendranath Das explained to the people the significance of satyagraha. Food grains and daily consumption articles were no longer sent to the Motiganj market for sale. The police and other workers thus faced a very difficult situation. Even journalists were put to trouble because they were considered agents of the British government in these areas. At Sartha the police were not given a grain and thus forced the police to arrest a large number of people from that village.

The Monkey Brigade or Vanar Sena and protest by women

Another programme of the movement in Orissa was to stage demonstrations in front of foreign cloth stores. Women played a major part in this campaign. Behind them were children below the age of sixteen who joined the women as satyagrahis. They were called the **Vanarasena**. Women collected signatures from shopkeepers not to buy foreign clothes. These who refused to sign, demonstrations were held in front of their shops and customers were advised not to buy from these shops. In the absence of women demonstrators, the Vanar Sena preformed the job. In many places the Vanar Sena was caned by the police. But fearlessly the children sang lines written by the National poet Birakishore. The fearlessness and the dedication of the Vanar Sena in Orissa was indeed unique, and this gives an insight on how well spread the movement was.

Abolition of Chowkidari Tax

A move was made during this time for the abolition of **Chowkidari Tax** in Orissa. It was started in the Inchudi-Srijang areas of Balasore. Gourmohan Das and Bidyadhar Rath took the leadership and directed the movement. People were asked not to pay this tax. Hence around twelve villages in that region did not pay the Chowkidari Tax. The chowkidars were instigated not to serve the British. Some Chowkidars were influenced and they gave up their jobs. In discouraging this tax Inchudi- Srijang achieved considerable success. Some people who refused to pay this tax were arrested but the people in general forced the police to release them. In the scuffle some policemen were injured. The District Magistrate and the police tried to suppress the people ruthlessly. The police atrocities became so inhuman that it constitutes a dark page in the history of British rule in Orissa.

Prohibition

In response to Gandhiji's call, the prohibition campaign began in Orissa. Satyagrahis instigated people to uproot date palms and other trees from which intoxicating drinks were prepared. People protested in front of local breweries. In Cuttack demonstrations were staged in front of large foreign liquor shops and people were advised to give up drinking. As a result the British were deprived of excise duty. In villages and towns the prohibition campaign in general was successful.

Repressive measures of the government

The government decided to take drastic steps to suppress the Satyagrahis. Local dailies like *Samaj*, *Prajatantra* and *Asha* were warned not the publish anything against the government, otherwise their editors were to be taken to task. During this time hand printed *Bidrohi* and *Biplabi* were published in Cuttack and Balasore respectively and they were widely circulated among the people. The police wanted to seize these papers and the young leaders of the Congress were sent to jail. Though they were temporarily released after the Gandhi–Irwin pact, they were again sent to jail. The British treatment of the Satyagrahis was barbaric to say the least. By 1934 civil disobedience movement in Orissa had cooled down.

Civil disobedience in Orissa had become virulent. The people in the coastal areas particularly, broke laws and acquired huge quantities of salt. The uniqueness of the movement in Orissa was due to the fact that outstanding women leaders like Rama Devi, Sarala Devi and others took part in this movement and popularised it. The determination shown by the people of Inchudi- Srijang was exemplary and that brought Orissa to the focus of the rest of India. Civil disobedience movement in Orissa not only exposed the British rule in India but also inspired the people to merge with the national mainstream to teach the British a lesson.

THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT IN ORISSA

The Quit India movement of 1942 assumed grave proportions in Orissa. It spread from towns to villages and even the forest regions of Koraput came under its sway. The students of Ravenshaw college took the initiative in this movement after which it became widespread. The British declared the Congress illegal and arrested all its leaders. The police resorted to brutal firings at places like Khiradihi, Iram, Dhamnagar, Mathili and Paparahandi. Though the British were successful in suppressing the movement, its bloody experience could not be wiped out from the memory of Oriyas.

Beginning of the Revolt

With the arrest of Congress leaders in Orissa on 9 August 1942 began the Quit India movement in Orissa. At Cuttack in front of the Ravenshaw college gate students organised a meeting and decided to support the movement and provide help to the leaders of the Congress. On 14 August 1942, under the direction of student leaders like Bibhudendra Misra, Suraj Mal Saha, Ashoka Das, Biren Mitra and others the college office was set on fire and all furnitures were destroyed. Government servants were instigated by the students to quit service and join the movement. Other educational institutions too joined the movement. The police promptly arrested Bibhudendra Misra and Suraj Mal Saha and sent them to Berhampur jail. On 16 August 1942, people attacked the *Bari Congress Ashram* which had been taken over by the police. The agitated mob set fire to the clothes of the chowkidar and other furnitures.

Kaipada Firing

The arrest of the founder of the Bari Ashram, Gopabandhu Chowdhury and Rama Devi infuriated the people of the area. They along with the *Vanar sena* set fire to the **Kaipada** post office on 17 August 1942. When the situation was beginning to get out of control, the Deputy Superintendent of the police reached there on 25 August. On the 26 morning many people crossed the Baitarini river and gathered at the place. To drive them away, the police resorted to blank fires. Leaders like Indramani Tripathy, Dambarudhar Ray, Benudhar Das were arrested by the police. When Smt. Annapurna Moharana reached the place the excited mob demanded the release of the arrested leaders. At this moment, when Hadibandhu Panda was running way with a rifle, the police caught him. He died instantly when the bayonet pierced his chest. The police then resorted to indiscriminate firing. Three people were killed and 17 were injured.

Awakening in Jajpur

After the Kaipada firing incident, the police brought the arrested satyagrahis to Jajpur. The police refused permission to hold meetings and gatherings in the region. Disobeying the orders, about 15,000 people marched towards the police station and the S.D.O's office. The police was forced to resort to firing. Tear gas shells were also dropped. As a result, the people dispersed in confusion and the situation was brought under control.

The movement in parts of Cuttack

Meanwhile the movement was gathering momentum at **Cuttack** in places like Barchana, Mahanga, Ersama. Hereafter the people in order to protect themselves from the police resorted to wielding the lathi and other such martial arts. Under the Gobindpur division, Gourang Charan Das of Bagalpur trained the youth on wielding the lathi. In the Batemura village, a *'Rakta (blood) Vahini'*, was created to repulse police attack. They were determined to intensify the quit India movement. The British undoubtedly were unnerved. It was at this time that Bhairab Chandra Mahanti quit government service and joined the movement. Surendra Nath Devivedy, kept himself away from police view and took a very active part in intensifying the movement.

Trouble at Bhandaripokhari

While the movement had spread to different parts of Balasore, more than 5000 people came together to besiege the police station at *Bhandaripokhari*. All documents in the station were destroyed. With mortal fear the assistant sub-inspector took refuge in a nearby village. A constable was severely beaten up and the police station was set on fire. The only bridge linking it to the village was destroyed. The furious magistrate fined six thousand rupees and the amount was to be collected from twelve near–by villages. Jagannath Das and Dwarakanath Das were arrested in this connection.

Firing at Dhamanagar

After the Bhandaripokhari incident the British decided to teach the revolutionaries a lesson. At Dhamnagar the quit India movement was activated by Muralidhar Panda. It was alleged that he had burnt the uniform of the chowkidar in the Srijanga village. Hence the police proceeded to arrest him at Dhamnagar. But by that time Muralidhar Panda had already moved away to the Luniakata sahi village. When the police reached there, the people started blowing conches and beating drums resulting in gathering of a large number of people from nearby villages. The helpless police resorted to firing. About 10 or 11 people died and many others were injured. They were sent to the nearby hospital for treatment. The savage firing took place on 21 September 1942. At last Muralidhar Panda was arrested.

Firing at Tudigadia and Khairadihi

At the Tudigadia market place a few people insulted the police sub-inspector. Hence the police wanted to arrest these people. When the people blow conches people from nearby villages came together and assembled at **Khairadihi**. To drive them away the police resorted to 9 rounds of blank firing. On 29 September 1942, when the police went to the Khairadihi village to arrest Baidyanath Rout from a particular house, the people were at that moment setting fire to the house. The police were attacked with bows and arrows, thus provoking it to resort to firing. Two people lost their lives in the police firing. While taking the dead bodies, the people gheraoed the Tudigadia police station. The police again resorted to firing killing few people from the Nilgiri region.

Firing at Iram

The movement became very intense at Iram in Basudevpur. On 28 September people gathered at an open place (*Melan Padia*) and resolved not to pay taxes. The meeting was initiated under the presidentship of Kamala Prasad Kar. After him Ganesh

Prasad Tripathy took charge of the meeting. The field was packed with the young, old and the middle-aged people and there was only a narrow exit from the field. The D.S.P closed the exit point and ordered firing in the evening. It resulted in 29 deaths and 55 were injured. The event took the shape of a Second Jallianwalabagh. Hence Iram is righty termed as 'Bloody *Pilgrimage,– Rakta Tirtha.* '

Firing at Nimapara

The police resorted to firing at *Nimapara* in the Puri district. On 16 September 1942, the people of Nimapara held a meeting and resolved not to pay taxes to the government. The people then reached the police station and instigated the officers to quit service and join the movement. When the national flag was hoisted there, the police warned them not to do so. The irritated mob set fire to the police station and the police opened fire killing one person and injuring several others.

Reaction in Ganjam

In the Ganjam district too the movement was well spread. The revolutionaries cut away the telegraph lines at Aska. The political prisoners in Berhampur jail burnt a thatched house and the police lathi-charged them. When the prisoners of Rasoolkonda became rebellious the police resorted to lathicharge.

Adivasi awakening in Koraput : Firing at Maithili

Laxman Naik of Tentuligummar under the Baipariguda station, greatly activated the movement in Koraput district. He propagated the Congress philosophy in the region. Moving around from village to village he elicited the support of the people. On 21 August 1942 leading a large band of supporters with the Congress flag and lathis, he proceeded to gherao the Maithili Police station. On the way he broke down the liquor shops at Kongrabeda, Chandrabeda and Kuntipali. At Maithili, the area reverberated with slogans like 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai'. The police severely beat Laxman Naik and he lay prostrate on the ground. Yet the people refused to move from the place. Hence the police resorted to firing killing 5 people. In a false allegation against Laxman Naik that he had beaten a forest conservator to death, he was arrested and sent to Berhampur jail. On 29 March 1943, he was hanged there. The only Oriya to have been hanged during the 1942 Quit India movement he is rightly known as **Saheed Laxman Naik.** Orissa shall ever remember the sacrifice of this great Adivasi leader.

Firing at Paparahandi

On 24 August 1942, many people of Koraput marched ahead to destroy the bridge and the police station at Paparahandi. The police obstructed their movement. Undaunted the people marched on and the police started firing, killing 15 people on the spot. It is also alleged that many congress workers were killed and their bodies were thrown into the Paparahandi river.

Reaction in Sambalpur

Sambalpur too was deeply influenced by the movement. The people there went on strike and disobeyed the government. The students shut down educational institutions and instigated people to liberate themselves from the clutches of foreigners. The people's role in activating the movement in Sambalpur was commendable.

Reaction in Princely areas

The Quit India movement was warmly welcomed in areas ruled by native princes. Its influence was deeply felt in Talcher, *Princely areas* Dhenkanal, Athagarh and Nayagrah. Pabitra Mohan Pradhan took the leadership in Talcher. On 26 August 1942, Baishnab Charan Patnaik led 19 revolutionaries and set fire to the jail, the police station and the ammunition depot. Musa Mallick and Anukul Sahu were condemned to death. At Nuagaon in Nayagarh Kashi Dakua was killed in police firing.

Objectives of the movement

The following were the objectives of movement in Orissa :–

1. To stop paying taxes.
2. To loot godowns.
3. To instigate government servants to join the movement.
4. To go on strike.
5. To cut off communications so as to impede the movement of the police.
6. To set up Panchayats.
7. To break forest laws.
8. To disobey government orders.
9. To stop providing food grains to government officials.

An Analysis of the movement

An analysis of the reaction to the Quit India movement in Orissa would reveal that it was mass-oriented and widespread. It got tremendous support in towns, villages, adivasi areas and princely areas. All perceived that along with India, Orissa too would become independent and the British would have to leave. Hence the people of Orissa plunged into the movement with great enthusiasm. Though the British used barbaric methods of repression like firing and imprisoning the leaders of the Congress and stalled the movement, in Orissa it continued in some form or the other till 1944.

It can be emphatically stated that the echoes of the Quit India movement deeply penetrated the psyche of the people of Orissa. Lathicharge, firing, arrests and capital punishment were disdainfully looked down by Oriyas and they moved forward. Driving the British away from Orissa seemed to be the only consideration of the revolutionaries in Orissa. Even the adivasis of Koraput were enchanted by the spirit of nationalism under the leadership of Saheed Laxman Naik. Oriyas endured the excessive British repression with the fond hope of a free and bright future.

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Chapter – 28

CONTRIBUTION OF MADHUSUDAN DAS, GOPABANDHU DAS, KRUSHNA CHANDRA GAJAPATI, SARALA DEVI, RAMA DEVI AND MALATI DEVI

The spread of English education created a group of intellectuals who dreamt of building a new Odisha. The establishment of printing press, circulation of newspapers and magazines, emergence of several cultural organizations and above all, the rise of educated mass created renaissance in the second half of the nineteenth century. The role of women in the freedom struggle in Odisha was also spectacular. A discussion on such eminent personalities of Odisha has been made here.

MADHUSUDAN DAS

Famous in the nook and corner of Odisha as 'Madhu Barrister' and 'Grand Old Man', Madhusudan Das was an intellectual par excellence, a leader, a reformer and above all, the architect of the creation of Odisha as a separate province. Through the Utkal Union Conference (Utkal Sammilani), he had mobilized millions of Odias to come forward for creation of Odisha province on language basis. He had tried his level best to keep up the prestige of the Odias and their self-esteem at the top. Even today, he is remembered with love by the people of Odisha.

Life of Madhusudan Das- A brief sketch

Madhusudan Das was born on 28 April 1848 at Satyabhamapur in the Cuttack district. After finishing the primary education in his village, he passed Matriculation from the Ravenshaw Collegiate School. Leaving the job as a teacher and subsequently as clerk from Balasore, he left for Kolkata for higher education. He passed F.A. (I.A) from the Bethun College of Kolkata in 1868. While reading there, he came in contact with Ambika Charan Hazra and both of them became close friends. He passed M.A. from Calcutta University in 1873 and B.L.(LLB)in 1878. By the influence of Ambica, he was converted to Christianity. He married a Christian lady named Saudamini but she breathed her last after six years of marriage. After the death an Ambika Charan, Madhu Babu adopted his daughters Sailabala and Sudhansubala Hazra as his own daughters and returned to Cuttack and established himself as a great lawyer. Gradually, his house at Cuttack was frequently visited by educated people, intellectuals, leaders and the like. There the draft for the creation of a new vibrant Odisha was prepared. Dedicating himself for the all round development of Odisha. Madhu Babu breathed his last on 4 February 1934.

Madhu Babu and Odisha Association

Some people of Cuttack formed Orissa Association in 1878. It was a milestone for the new awakening of modern Odisha. By the influence of Gourishankar Ray, Madhu Babu became its member on 21 May 1883. This association discussed about the Ibert bill and

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N.B. : Orissa can be used as Odisha.

all the members unanimously supported it. Madhu Babu and Gaurishankar Ray attended the Madras session of the Indian National congress in 1888. Through this association, the liberal idea of the Congress found expression in Odisha and this trend continued till 1903.

The Utkal Union Conference

The formation of the Utkal Union Conference (Utkal Sammilani) was a bold step taken by Madhu Babu which played a vital role in the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts. The first session of this conference was organized on 30 December 1903. By the invitation of Madhu Babu, 30 kings, zamindars and many representatives attended this conference. Sri Ramachandra Bhanja Deo, the king of Mayurbhanja presided over the session. The important proposals accepted by this conference were:-

1. Praise to the effort of Viceroy, Lord Curzon for the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts.
2. Expression of gratitude to the British Government for the prevalence of Odia language in Sambalpur instead of Hindi.
3. Formation of many committees for social reforms and improvement of Odia language.
4. Some steps taken for the development of industries in Odisha Division etc., By the effort of Madhu Babu, This Utkal Union Conference could very well submit a proposal to the British Government to amalgamate Sambalpur, Ganjam, Chhotnagpur, Visakhapattnam and Midnapore with Odisha. He had given a clarion call to every Odia to be a part of the Utkal Sammilani. In his words-

" This conference is the ocean of Nation and contains crores of life-drops. You mingle your life-drop jumping into the water of this ocean."

Madhu Babu and his effort to form Odisha Province

In 1903, the Indian National congress did not support the claim for the formation of Odisha as a separate province based on language. That is why, Madhu Babu shivered his relation with the Congress. In the meanwhile, Lord curzon tried to unite the odia-speaking tracts through 'Resley Circular'. When Lord curzon was on leave, the Viceroy-in-charge, Lord Ampthil could not allow Ganjam and Visakhapattnam to be the part of Odisha. Of course, he had allowed Patnagarh, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Bamanda and Rairakhol to be amalgamated with Odisha, which were parts of central province. Besides, Gangpur and Bonai were also amalgamate with Odisha. Madhu Babu vehemently opposed this move of the British Government through the Utkal Union Conference. He submitted a proposal before the Royal Commission to unite the Odia-speaking areas. In 1911, Madhu Babu went to London to create public opinion in its favour. In 1911, Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India gave proposal for the creation of new Bihar-Odisha province and it was formed in 1912. This was vehemently opposed by Madhu Babu through the Utkal Sammilani.

Madhu Babu and Politics

Madhu Babu has left his indelible imprint in the field of politics. He was elected as a representative to 'Orissa- chhotnagpur Muncipality' in 1896. He was again elected for the same post in 1900 and dedicate himself for the progress of Odisha. In 1902 as a member of the 'Bengal Legislative Council', Madhu Babu put pressure on the government to provide more grant for the improvement of Ravenshaw college. He was again elected to the same post in 1909. He had given proposal for opening a Law college and Women's Training school in Odisha. The 'Orissa Tenancy Bill' introduced by him was passed in the council but it was rejected by the Viceroy, since Odisha was going to be a separate province soon. To the 'Legislative Council' of Bihar and Orissa, Madhu Babu was elected as a member. Bihar and Orissa province was formed in 1912. By his effort the 'Orissa Tenancy Bill' was recommended and accepted by the house in 1913. This was liked by the peasants of Odisha. In 1921, Madhu Babu became a minister of that council. He discharged his duty without any remuneration and cited an example of self-less service for his people. By his effort, on 25 November 1921 a proposal was laid down before the House for the creation of Odisha as a separate province. Ofcourse, he resigned from the post of the minister in 1913.

Steps for the spread of education

Madhu Babu took much pain for the spread of education in Odisha. As a vice-chairman of Cuttack zilla parishad and member of legislative council, Madhu Babu had taken steps for opening many schools in Odisha. He had advised to give physical training to the juveniles in the zail. He also encouraged women education. In 1907 when the only Girls' school was going to be closed, his adopted daughter Sailabala became its Head Mistress and it survived. Later on, it became the famous Sailabala Women's college and encouraged women education in Odisha and still is encouraging the same. Madhu Babu advocated in favour of the voting right of women which was materialized in future.

Effort for the economic independence of the Odias

Madhu Babu had tried for the economic independence of the odias. He took steps for the development of cottage industries in Odisha. The traditional filigree work of Cuttack was encouraged by him. Till today, this has retained its position. Madhu Babu had open 'Orissa Art Wares' at cuttack. For the progress of leather industry, he had established a factory named 'Utkal Tannery' at Cuttack. When a slight defect was noticed in the production of shoes, he was destroying those shoes. For that factory, he became pauper. He also taught the weavers, new art of weaving. He was also instrumental in establishing Palm-sugar factory. In fact, Madhu Babu played an important role for the economic progress of Odisha.

Protection of Puri Jagannath Temple

Although Madhu Babu had accepted Christianity by choice, he had argued in the court as an advocate to preserve the dignity of Gajapati. In 1902, the British Government appointed one Deputy Magistrate for the management of Puri Jagannath temple. Madhu Babu opposed it in the Calcutta High Court and projected that is per the tradition, the Gajapati is the sole custodian of the deities of Puri Jagannath temple. The Honorable High court listened to Madhu Babu and passed order that the Gajapati should be the custodian of the deities and would carry temple management as per his desire. This episode made Madhu Babu famous in the nook and corner of Odisha as 'Madhu Barrister'.

Madhu Babu breathed his last on 4 February 1934, Odisha became a separate province after two years of his death in 1936. This had become a reality due to the untiring effort of Madhu Babu. His inspiring poem for the sons of Odisha instills new vim and vitality into the nerves even today.

GOPABANDHU DAS

Famous as the 'Gem of Utkal', Gopabandhu Das accelerated the activities of National Congress in Odisha. He had devoted his body, mind and soul for the uplift of the common people of Odisha. He had established school on the lap of nature at Satyabadi and was instrumental in spreading national education in Odisha. He had started a news-paper, the 'Samaj' which in even a popular daily in Odisha today.

Life of Gopabandhu-A brief sketch

On 9 October 1899, Gopabandhu was born in a village named Suando, on the river bank of Bhargabi in the Puri district. His father was Daitari Das and mother, Swarnamayee Devi. Morning shows the day. The greatness of Gobabandhu was Known form his childhood. His poetic talent found expression when he was reading at Rupadeipur. He passed F.A. in 1902 and B.A. in 1904. He passed B.L.form Calcutta University in 1907. On the same year, his wife breathed her last. With his two sons, he returned Odisha. He came in contact with Madhu Babu and Gokulananda Choudhury. Being an active member of the Utkal Union Conference, Gopabandhu tried for the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts. He joined in the royal court of Mayurbanj. He returned Cuttack in 1912 and practised law. After that, he returned Puri. He established National School at Satyabadi. His close association with the National Congress kept him away from the Utkal Union or Conference. He started a newspaper, 'Samaj' and thus started journalism in Odisha. He became instrumental in spreading the activities of the Congress in Odisha. He died in 1928.

Establishment of National School

By the advice of Madhusudan Rao, Gopabandhu established 'Open Air Middle English School' in 1909 at Satyabadi of Puri district. On the backside of the Sakshigopal temple, in the natural setting he started this school. By his request, Acharya Harihar Das, Pandit Nilakantha Dash, Pandit Godabarish Mishra and Pandit Krupasindhu Mishra joined in that school. These five celebrities are known as the 'Five Friends of Modern Odisha'. The natural setting of the school and dedication of the teachers attracted the people. As the secretary of the school, Gopabandhu taught idealism and nationalism to the students. Eminent persons like Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Ashutos Mukherjee, Sir Edward Gate, Dr. Lancastore and may others visited this school and appreciated it in no uncertain terms. In 1921, this school became the main centre during the non-cooperation movement. The memory of this open air school is unforgettable.

Gopabandhu and the Utkal Union Conference

Right from the formation of the Utkal Union Conference in 1903, Gopabandhu was closely associated with it. He also wanted for the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts. He wanted to make this Utkal Sammilani as a part of National Congress but Madhu Babu opposed it tooth and hail. Participating in a session of the Utkal Union conference he addressed the gathering by stating-

> "The river of Odisha is Known as Mahanadi (the Great River); The mountain of Odisha is 'Mahendra; the tree of Odisha is 'Kalpabata' (the mighty banyan tree and the cremation ground is 'Swargadwara' (gateway to heaven)".

Thus, the greatness of odisha is felt everywhere. He described the Utkal Union Conference was a combination of Indian nationalism and Odishan aspiration. However, his active association with Congress compelled him to disassociate from the Utkal Sammilani.

Gopabandhu and Indian National Congress

Gopabandhu played a significant role for popularizing the activities of Indian National Congress in Odisha. Returning from Calcutta after attending a special session of Indian National congress in 1920, he was surcharged with the ideology of the Congress He was determined to spread Gandhian activities in Odisha. He also attended the Bambay session of Indian National Congress with others. Resolutions like boycotting of foreign goods, visit of the prince of Wales, adoption of national education etc. were passed in this session. The representatives from Odisha were deeply moved by this and returning Odisha, they wanted to implement these things under the leadership of Gopabandhu. Gopabandhu also went to jail due to his effort to popularize the Congress activities in Odisha.

Role in the Non-Cooperation Movement

Gopabandhu took steps to galvanize the Non-cooperation movement in Odisha. The Utkal Pradesh Cangress Committe was formed in 1921. Gopabandhu was its first President. Dr. Ekram Rasool was its Vice-President, Bhagirathi Mohapatra, its secretary and Brajabandhu Das was its Joint-Secretary. Pandit Krupasindhu Mishra, Acharya Harihar, Harekrushna Mahatab, Jagabandhu Singh and many others joined the Indian National Congress by the influence of Gopabandhu. The Congress workers were inspired by Gopabandhu to popularize Congress activities throughout Odisha.

Gpabandhu and visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Odisha

The arrival of Mahatma Gandhi in Odisha on 23 March 1921 gave a great impetus to the Non-Cooperation movement in Odisha. Within six days, he addressed several meetings at Cuttack, Bhadrak, Puri, Satyabadi and Berhampur. Gopabandhu translated the Hindi speech of Gandhiji into simple Odia and the people became happy. This inspired a lot to the people of Odisha to participate in the Non-Cooperation movement. By 30 June 1921, the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committe was able to collect 21,000 rupees for the 'Tilak Swaraj Fund'. In the mean while, 39,000 workers joined the Congress by the inspiration of Gopabandhu. Being inspired by nationalism, Harekrushna Mahatab, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Nityananda Kanungo and other young leaders joined the Indian National congress.

Establishment of Ashramas

Gopabandhu was instrumental in popularizing The Congress ideology in different parts of Odisha. By his instance, several Ashramas were established by leaders in different parts of Odisha. Among them very famous were the 'Swaraj Ashram' at Cuttack, 'Alakashram' at Jagatsinghpur and 'Swaraj Mandir' at Cuttack. The congress and social workers learnt in these Ashrams about the use of spinning wheel, preparation of thread and other programmes related with the Congress by his advice, to boycott the foreign goods, etc. The congres workers had started picketing at Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Bhadrak, Brahmapur and Sambalpur. Gopabandhu played a leading role to popularize Gandhi's principle of non-violence in different parts of Odisha.

Steps for improvement of Odia language and literature

Gopabandhu took steps for the improvement of Odia language and literature. He started publishing a magazine titled 'Satyabadi' from Sakshigopal in 1915. In 1919 he published 'Samaj' from the same place which was a weekly newspaper, Later on, it became daily. Through this newspaper he was able to put forth the grievances and demands of the people before the British Government. He himself was also the author of many books like 'Bandira Atmakatha' (Self-expression of a prisoner) *'Dharmapada'*, '*Go Mahatmya*' (Appraisal on cow), *'Abakasa Chinta'*, (Thought of lisure) etc. which enriched odia literature. He established Odia-medium schools at Singhbhum, Phuljhar, Mandasa, Tarala, Tekkali and tried his level best to spread Odia language among the people of this area. He had also established schools at calcutta for the Odias living there.

Gopabandhu and Politics

Gopabandhu was also a Politician. He remained member of the Orissa Legislative council from 1917 to 1920. He had put forth the demand for supplying relief to the flood and famine trodden people of Odisha. He had compelled the British Government to allow manufacturing of tax free salf for the personal use of the people. He had presented the guerisome picture of people's suffering during flood and drought so forcefully before the council that it had prompted Sir Edward Gate, the Governor of Bihar and Odisha who personally came to enquire the matter. He took steps to help the people of Odisha when they became victim of natural calamities.

Gopabandhu and People's welfare

Gopabandhu was a living example of a messiah for the poor and destitutes of Odisha. In 1904, after Gopabandhu had Passed B.A., he came to know that some rear area of Puri have been submerged in water. During that time, all in a sudden, his son became ill. Gopabandhu did not listen to anybody who advised him to stay at home for his son and went for relief work in that area. His son died but he did not bother about it. He was the first Odia to become the member of 'Servants of the People Society' in 1926, established by Lala Lajpat Rai. He was elected as the Vice-President of this society in a sesion of this society held at Lahore in 1928. He also took steps for the eradication of untouchability from Odishan Society.

Gopabandhu was the 'Gem of Utkala' in proper sense of the term. By following the principle of non-violence of Gandhiji, he tried to give a strategic blow to the British Government in Odisha. He popularized the Gandhian programme in every part of odisha. His lines are still remembered and revered by the people of Odisha-

"Let my body mingle in the soil of the country
Let the country-people walk on it
Let my flesh and bones fill up
The holes which come on the way of Swaraj".

KRUSHNA CHANDRA GAJAPATI NARAYAN DEO

Gajajapati Krushn Chandra Narayan Deo is regarded as one of the makers of modern Odisha. His contribution to make Odisha a separate province was immense. Loved by the people of this land, he had the credit to be the Prime Minister of Odisha twice. In spite of heavy odds, he was able to convince the British authorities regarding the need of the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts and creation of a new province which was materialized.

Life of K.C.Gajapati Narayan Deo: A brief sketch

On 26 May 1892, Krushna Chandra Narayan Deo was born in the palace of Parlakhemundi. His father was Gaura Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo and mother, Bishnupriya Devi. He read in Maharaja High School of Parlakhemundi and passed Matriculation. Thereafter, he joined the Newwington residential college at Madras. There, he know about the development of agriculture in rural area, rearing of cows and other animals, management of educational institutions etc. and returned to Parlakhamundi in 1912. He was coronated to the throne in 1913 and devoted his body, mind and soul for the welfare of his subjects. He created a farm house named 'Home Farm' and produced varieties of flowers and fruits with varieties of rice, wheat, maize etc. there. He was given the title 'Meherbani-i-Dostan' by the British. He extended the railway of his kingdom from Parlakhemundi to Gunpur. He gave donation to the open air school established by Gopabandhu Das at Satyabadi. By meeting the Simon Commission and twice going to England, he was instrumental in the creation of Odisha as a separate province. on 1 April 1936, Odisha became a new province. In 1937 and from 1941 to 1944, he became the Prime Minister of Odisha twice. He breathed his last in 1947.

K.C.Gajapati and the Utkal Union Conference

The Utkal Union Conference, created by Madhusudan Das, tried for the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts. K.C.Gajapati organized the tenth session of this conference at Parlakhemundi in 1914 which was a grand success. The leaders, organisors, doctors, advocates, writers, kings, Dewans who had reached there, were well treated. Madhu Babu presented a resolution for the amalgamation of Odia-speaking tracts of the Madras presidency. However, everyone was astonished when Krushna Chandra Gajapati gave a proposal for the amalgamation of all the Odia-speaking area of different provinces form an independent Odisha province. Madhu Babu showered his praise and blessings on K.C. Gajapati. Right from that day, the Maharaja became very active for this cause of the creation of a separate Odisha province.

Leadership for creation of Odisha Province

After the Parlakhemundi session of the Utkal Sammilani, Gopabandhu took its leadership. He tried to merge it with the Indian National Congres and through it, wanted to create a separate Odisha province. Madhu Babu became very angry and with many leaders, he withdrew from the National Congress. Now K.C.Gajapati took up the cause of the creation of Odisha province. The central Government sought the opinion of Madras, Bihar, Bengal and central province for the creation of Odisha province. The Madras presidency was anti-Odia and the Telugus of Andhra never wanted the creation of a separate province. This attitude of the Madras presidency perturbed the king a lot.

Maharaja and the Philip-Duff Committee

The Montagu-Chelmsford proposals of 1919 cauld not influence the British government for the formation of Odisha province. Due to the constant pressure on the British government K.C.Gajapati and other leaders, the government wanted to know the mind of the people. That is why a committee was formed with C.L. Philip, the then political agent of Odisha state and A.C.Duff, the Collector of Vizagapattanam. This Philip-Duff committee examined the witnesses and submitted its report to the Madras government that the people are interested to be the part of Bihar-Odisha province. This proposal was not accepted by the Madras government which frustrated a lot to K.C.Gajapati.

Krushna Chandra and Simon Commission

The Simon Commission which landed on Indian soil, was boycotted with the slogan "Simon go back". However, by the effort of K.C. Gajapati and other members of the Utkal Sammilani, that committee was received with the slogan "Welcome Simon" on the Patna railway station. The committee became very happy and intimately talked with the members of the Utkal Sammilani paying heed to their problems. On 27 May 1930, the report of the Simon Commission was published which had recommended for the formation of sub-committee for examining the cause of the creation of Odisha as a separate province. It elated K.C. Gajapati.

Atlee Sub-Committe and K.C. Gajapati

By the recommendation of the Simon Commission, the 'Atlee Sub-Committee' was created to determine the boundary of the new Odisha province. Many letters, representations, personal opinions reached before the committee by the inspiration of K.C. Gajapati. After examining all these evidences, the committec recommended for the creation of a separate province for the Odias. Although the Madras government kept its opinion before the committee against it but that was rejected. This was the first victory of K.C. Gajapati concerning the formation of the Odisha province.

K.C. Gajapati and the First Round Table Conference

Although the First Round Table Conference was boycotted by the Indian National Congress, K.C. Gajapati went to London is 1930 to present the demand of Odisha province before the British government. By that time, the agenda of the meeting had already been Prepared. By the persuation of K.C.Gajapati, a discussion on it was included with the province of Sind. When the turn come, K.C.Gajapati with politeness presented demand in the following way-

> "Sir, on behalf of 10 million of Oriyas, the subjects of His Majesty, I rise to represent their long standing grievances on this occassion-------- I should lay before you all today that formation of separate province for the Oriyas is a life and death problem to them....... . It is for you to make or mar the destiny of an ancient race, vast in numbers, cultured and advanced, but placed under painful circumstances now........".

Due to his influential speech, this Odisha matter was placed in II, VI and VII of the sub-committee. During his stay at London, K.C. Gajapati was able to influence Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State and other parliamentarians. This made the path of the creation of Odisha as a separate province very easy.

K.C.Gajapati and Creation of Odisha Province

After the First Round Table Conference, O' Donnel committee was formed to examine the case of Odisha province. The committee was welcomed by K.C. Gajapati with much cordiality at the Berhampur railway station. After visiting various Odia-speaking tracts and interacting with the people, the committee submitted its report to Samuel Hoare. In 1933 a 'White Paper' was published by the British Parliament where there was no mention of Parlakhemundi This put K.C.Gajapati on stress who went to London and convinced the dignitaries regarding his plight. After that, was formed a 'Joint Parliamentary Committee' to finalize the matter concerning Odisha. In 1933 the 'Hubback Committec' was formed to give a shape to the province of Odisha. In its report, again Parlakhemundi was absent from the new province. Being frustrated, K.C.Gajapati with a delegation went to Shimla in 1934 and convinced the Viceroy regarding the inclusion of Parlakhemundi in odisha. In the Article 289 of the government of India Act, 1935, Odisha was given the status of a separate province with the inclusion of Parlakhemundi in it. On 1 April 1936, a separate Odisha province was created. On that evening, Maharaja K.C. Gajapati hoasted a grand party at Barabati fort of Cuttack.

Prime Minister Krushnachandra and Progress of Odisha

The first Governor of Odisha was Sir John Austin Hubback. By his invitation, K.C. Gajapati became the Prime minister of Odisha on 1 April, 1937. Again, he adorned the same position from 1941 to 1944. During that period, he devoted his heart and soul for the progress of Odisha. The Odisha High Court, Sri Ramachandra Bhanja Medical college at Cuttack, Utkal University, Rice Research Institute at Bidyadharpur at Cuttack etc. were established by his efforts. That is why, the Utkal University and Berhempur University conferred on him the honorary Doctorate degree. The Berhampur medical college and Gajapati district have been named after him to preserve his memory.

Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati was a celebrity of modern Odisha. He fought the last battle of the odias on the bank of river thames in London and become successful by creating a separate Odisha province. As an architect of modern Odisha, he is ever remembered in the annals of history.

RAMA DEVI

Among the celebrated women freedom fighters of Odisha, Rama Devi occupies a special position. She belonged to a rich family but the clarion call of Mahatma Gandhi prompted her to participate in freedom struggle. She became a source of inspiration for millions of Odias. After India achieved independence, Rama Devi devoted herself fully to work for the poor and destitute following the dictum "service to mankind is service to God". Her death became an irreparable loss to the people of this land.

Life of Rama Devi A brief Sketch

Popular as 'Belu' in the family, Rama Devi was born at Cuttack on 3 December 1899. Her father was Gopalballav Das and mother, Basanta Kumari Devi. Her grandfather was Madhusudan Das, the pride of Utkal. In her childhood, she used to listen stories of Ramayana and Mahabharata from her mother. In 1914, she married to Gopabandhu Choudhury who left the government service and joined the National Congress. After listening to the speech of Mahatma Gandhi on the river bank of Kathajoori in 1921, she donated all her ornaments to the 'Tilak Swaraj Fund'. She accompanied her husband to the Alakashram at Jagatsinghpur and subsequently to Bari. She worked actively for the freedom struggle and took part in the Bhoodan Movement in Odisha. In 1962, she devoted herself for the service of the wounded soldiers in Assam. The Utkal University offered her Doctorate degree for her service. She was also rewarded by the Jamunala Bajaj Foundation. To preserve her memory, the Rama Devi college was established at Bhubaneswer which has later on assumed the status of a University. She breathed her last on 22 July 1985.

Participation in the freedom struggle

Rama Devi had heard Gandhiji on 23 March 1921. On the same night Mahatma Gandhi addressed a meeting organized by the ladies at Binod Bihari at Cuttack. Rama Devi attended this meeting and presented Mahatma Gandhi her hand-spun thread and contributed all her ornaments to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. She also took a vow not to wear ornaments and to wear khaddar saree throughout her life. She was determined to forgo all the luxuries of her life and to devote her body, mind and soul for the freedom struggle.

Alakashram and Rama Devi

Alakashram played a vital role in the freedom struggle in India. The National school started there. As an insider, Rama Devi cooked tiffins and meals for the inmates of the Ashram. In 1923-24, cholera spread in Jagatsinghpur. Rama Devi with other workers moved from village to village and advised the people to take preventive injection and to take boiled water. For the eradication of malaria in that area, she advised to use quinine. She also advised peole not to use intoxicants. She also taught spinning and preparation of clothes to the people who came for training to Alakashram.

Rama Devi and Civil Disobedience Movement

The Salt Satyagraha was vigorous in Odisha. On 13 April 1930, Acharya Harihara started the Civil Disobedience Movement at Inchudi as Balasore district. Rama Devi with Malati Devi and Kiranbala Sen reached there and called the women of Inchudi, Srijang, Boita, Kuligaon, Rasalpur and nearby villages and engaged them in the preparation of salt. Later on, she went to Kujang and influenced Queen Bhagyabati Pattamahadei to break salt law at Kaliapatna in Paradeep. Due to her active participation, the Civil Disobedience Movement at Paradeep, Ersama, Chatua, Daria and other places became quite successful.

Rama Devi at Bari Ashram

After Alakashram was raised to the ground, Rama Devi with her husband went to Bari and stayed at the Bari Ashram, popularly Known as 'Sevaghar'. In that Ashram, Rama Devi devoted herself in Khadi work, uplift of Harijan, spread of Hindi, uplift of women, prohibition, bee-keeping, basic education, adult education, cleaning of village and the like. She established there a maternity home. Her service in that area carved a special position for her and people called her 'Maa' (Mother) with love and devotion.

Gandhiji's Padayatra, Berboi` Conference and Rama Devi

On 9 March 1934 started Harijan Padayatra in Odisha. Rama Devi participated in that and she was advised by Gandhiji to start Congress organization vigorously in Bhadrak and Rama Devi did it. Similarly, Rama Devi worked a lot in the Berboi conference near Delang in the Puri district held on 26 March 1937. It was attended by Gandhiji Kasturba, Maulana Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel and others who appreciated the self-less service of Rama Devi.

Rama Devi and the Quit India Movement

On 9 August 1942, began the Quit India Movement. Rama Devi actively participated in the movement. She was arrested with Gopabandhu Choudhury, Malati Devi, Manmohan Choudhury, Annapurna Maharana and Sharat Chandra Maharana. Rama Devi was imprisoned in the Cuttack jail. Even inside the jail, she preached about nationalism. In 1944, she was released from the jail. Returning to Bari Ashram, she was again engaged in Ganjhian constructive works.

Representative of Various Organizations

Rama Devi was a leader per excellence. She was a member of 'Seva Mandal' of Wardha. She was elected as the treasurer of 'All India Charkha Association'. She was also member of the provincial Khadi Board and 'All India Women's Association'. She was also a member of 'All India Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Trust'. She formed an association at Tumbadiguda of Koraput named 'Navajeevan Mandal' in 1946 to serve the forest people. In 1947, she worked as the vice- president of the 'Utkal Khadi Mandal' and 'Utkal Gandhi Smarak Nidhi'. Besides, she associated herself with many organizations and worked for the welfare of the society.

Rama Devi, Congress sessions and Bhoodan Movement

Rama Devi was an active participant of the various sessions of the Indian National Congress. She participated in the Gaya session of Indian National congress in 1922 and Calcutta session in 1928. In 1924, she became the member of the Utkal Pradesh Congress committee. She participated in the Bhoodan Padayatra with her husband and went to different Places like Parjang, Angul, Tainsi, Brahmagiri, Ganjam, Gunapur, Ramanguda, Bisama kataka, Bolangir, Padmapur etc. In 1955, she moved with Vinova Bhave from Balasore to Koraput and became ill in 1958, the year her husband expired. There after, she went to Bari and devoted herself for the welfare of the people. She also presided over the All India Sarvodaya Sammilani at Pandarpur of Maharashtra.

Ramadevi and treatment wounded-soldiers

During the Sino-Indian war of 1962, many Indian soldiers were wounded by the attack of China. Rama Devi reached Tejpur of Assam and devoted herself in the service of those soldiers. By her selfless service, she was very much liked by them. She also went to other villages of Aasam and Mizoram and worked as volunteers. She also solved communal riot between the Hindus and Muslims at Kachhad town.

Rama Devi and Social work

Rama Devi was an ideal social worker. In 1968, she rendered relief work at the undivided Balasore, Koraput, Dhenkanal, Puri, Ganjam, Phulbani and Mayurbanj districts which were affected by droughts. She also worked in the flood-affected areas. During the Indo-Pak war of 1971, She worked for the refugees who came from East Pakistan to Odisha. She also worked for the lepors and Harijans. She Pacified the students strike at Ravenshaw college in 1964. She took a leading role in the celebration of Gandhi's centenary in Odisha in 1969. In 1977 in the centenary year of Acharya Harihara, a cancer Institute was established at the S.C.B. Medical college, Cuttack by her effort.

Rama Devi and Awards

For her social works, the Utkal University awarded honorary Ph.D. degree to Rama Devi. She was awarded by the Jamunalal Bajaj Foundation. She donated one lakh rupees for the welfare of the people what she had received as award. In her memory, Rama Devi women's college was founded at Bhubaneswar which has became a university now. Rama Devi was much above the awards.

Rama Devi was really a mother in every sense of the term. She had sacrificed all her wealth at the alter of the country. Due to her selfless work, she carved a special position in the heart of the millions of people. Her graceful figure is preserved in the heart of every Odia.

SARALA DEVI

The contribution of Sarala Devi to the freedom struggle is unforgettable. She had joined the freedom movement by the inspiration of her husband. Being inspired by the thought of Mahatma Gandhi, Sarala Devi became instrumental in popularizing the Indian National congres in Odisha. She was imprisoned during the Civil Disobedience Movement. She devoted herself for the uplift of the Harijans. By her literary creations, she enriched Odia literature.

Life of Sarala Devi-A brief Sketch

On 9 August 1904, Sarala Devi was born in an affluent Karana family at Balikuda of the Cuttack district. Her father was Basudev Kanungo and mother, Padmabati Devi. Her family was associated with the family of Madhusudan Das, the Pride of Utkal. Her uncle was the Deputy Collector of Banki She was educated there. After M.E.School, she was married to Bhagirathi Mohapatra of Jagatsinghpur. By the inspiration of her husband, she joined the freedom struggle. She participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement, Quit India Movement and devoted herself for the uplift of the dountroden. She was the president of the 'Utkal Sahitya Samaj', the leading literary forum of Odisha. She Contributed her articles to *'Asha'*, *'Nabina'*, *'Nababharati'*, *'Utkal Sahitya'* etc. based on the problems of women. She breathed her last on 4th october 1986.

Sarala Devi and early inspiration

While reading in the M.E.School at Banki, Sarala Devi knew about the love and sacrifice of queen Suka Dei towards the motherland. Surcharged with nationalism, Suka Dei could fight against the King of. Khurda and defeated him. This episode had inspired her a lot. Later an, after marriage, she could know that the women of the nook and corner of India had joined the freedom movement by the clarion call of Mahatma Gandhi. Her husband also inspired her to join the Indian National Congress. This joining in the Congress, prepared the way for her participation in the freedom struggle.

Sarala Devi, Congress sessions and the Non-Cooperation Movement

In 1921, Sarala Devi Participated with her husband in the Nagpur session of Indian National congress. She had brought the message of Non-Cooperation Movement as the first lady to Odisha. After Gandhiji's address to the woman at Binod Bihari, she was inspired a lot. By the call of Gandhiji, fasting took place in the country during the Non-Cooperation Movement from 6 April to 13 April 1921. Sarala Devi observed fasting for that week. She collected money for Tilak Swaraj Fund by moving from village to village. She distributed speening wheel to the villagers and taught them spinning.

Sarala Devi and the Civil Disobedience Movement

Sarala Devi played an important role in the Civil Disobedience Movement in Odisha. She went to Inchudi and helped the woman there for the preparation of salt. By her influence, many people of Lakshmipur, Pallibandha and Huma joined the salt satyagraha in Ganjam. Being inspired by her speech, Kulalata Devi of Ghumsar contributed her ornaments to the national fund. While preaching agains the British Government, she was arrested by the police and produced before Chhatrapur court and got six months imprisonment. She was the first lady to go to jail by the order of the court. The 'Udyog Mandi' which was established at Berhampur to train the Satyagrahis, got impetus by her presence. After her release from the jail she was welcomed by people at Cuttack railway station and a meeting was organized under the leadership of Binapani Devi to felicitate her. In that meeting, the Union Jack was burnt. Thousands of People had attended that meeting.

Sarala Devi and no tax campaign

A part of the Civil Disobedience Movement was not to pay tax to the British Government. The people of Srijang of Balasore and other places of Odisha did not pay tax to the Brish Government being inspired by the speech of Sarala Devi. Due to picketing, the people could not purchase foreign goods from different cloth, wine and shoe shops. Thus, The Government could not get tax and suffered loss. On the other hand, she preached in favour of spinning wheel and khaddar and popularized the Swadeshi movement in Odisha.

Sarala Devi and creation of separate Odisha Province

In the Karachi Session of the Indian National congress, Sarala Devi persuaded Mahatma Gandhi for the formation of Odisha province on linguistic basis. Of course, Mahatma Gandhi did not take any step in this regard. However, Sarala Devi had boldly presented this proposal before Gandhiji. This shows her love for Odisha and Odia language.

Sarala Devi and the Quit India Movement

Gandhiji had selected Sarala Devi as the women leader to start the Quit India Movement in Odisha. While delivering her speech against the British, she was imprisoned and sent to the jail. She remained inside the jail for three years. During that period, she gave birth to a son. She also chalked out programme inside the jail with other prisoners how to quit the English from India. This shows her love for the motherland.

Sarala Devi, Gandhian Coustructive works and uplift of Harijan

Sarala Devi popularized the Gandhian constructive works like woman education, uplift of woman, eradication of untouchability, adoption or Swadeshi, prohibition etc. in Odisha. She had given proposal to the Odisha government to provide education to Harijans and give them jobs. She had advised the government to open agricultural bank and land-mortgage bank for protecting the Harijans from the clutches of moneylenders. By her effort, the Odisha government had built hostel at Cuttack for the stay of the Harijans.

Works for the Peasants

Sarala Devi was very sympathetic for the cause of the peasants. She could know about the peasants during the Kanika rebellion of 1921-22. In 1937, she delivered a talk at Delang. There she spoke againt 'Bethi' (forced labour). This speech was directed against the Zamindari system of Delang. During that period, if a farmer failed to pay revenue to the Zamindar, he was tortured by the later. She advised the government in many meetings to take steps against the Zamindars and also to look after the peasants by heeping them to increase their property.

Provincial Legislative Assembly and Sarala Devi

Sarala Devi was the member of the Provincial Assembly from 1937 to 1944. She was imprisoned during that time and had warned the Government regarding the misbehaviour of the jail staff towards the political prisoners. On 28 February 1939, she argued in favour of co-education and demanded to grant more money for the development of women education. She also introduced the 'Dowry Eradication Bill' in the Assembly in 1939 which was passed and accepted by the government. In the same year, she also introduced 'Property Right of Hindu Women Bill' which was also passed. She also put pressure for women franchise. In these ways, she proved herself as a great politician by presenting the problems of the people before the government.

Literary activities of Sarala Devi

Sarala Devi was a prolific writer. She translated the book *'History of Indian National Congress'* of Pattabhi Sitaramayya into Odia and popularized the activities of the Congres in the nook and corner of Odisha. Her writings were published in *'Asha'*, *'Nabina'*, *'Nababharati'*, *'Sahakara'* and *'Utkal Sahitya'*. Largely, her writings were women-centric. Especially, the problems and rights of women were discussed in her writings. She Played a vital role in dragging the women from the four walls of house and mingling them in the mainstream.

In fact, Sarala Devi was an ideal women. She played an important role in popularizing the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi in Odisha. Her works for Harijans, peasants, women and common people were praiseworthy. That is why, she is ever remembered by the people of Odisha.

MALATI DEVI

Malati Sengupta, Malati Choudhury, Malati Devi is one of the much talked freedom fighters of Odisha. Although she was a Bengalee, but after marrying Nabakrushna Choudhury, she devoted her body, mind and soul for the freedom struggle in Odisha. Her role in the Prajamandal movement and work for the farmers keep her alive in the memory of the Odias.

Life of Malati Devi- A brief sketch

On 26 July 1904, Malati, Devi was born in a noble family at Calcutta, Her father was Kumudnath Sen, an advocate by profession and mother, Snehalata Devi. Her childhood name was Minu and later on, she became famous as Nu-Ma. She passed Matriculation in first division and when Naba Krushna Choudhury went to read at Shantiniketan, she fell in love with him and married him. Returning Odisha, Malati Devi took active part in the freedom struggle. She worked for the uplift of the peasants and participated vigorously in the Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement. She also gave a great impetus to the Prajamandal movement. She was a poetess also. She was the first rank Sarvodayee in Odisha. She breathed her last in 1998 at Baji Rout hostel of Angul.

Anakhia Ashram and Malati Devi

On the way to Jagatsinghpur at Anakhia, Nabakrushna Choudhury established an Ashram. Malati Devi remained there and collected workers by moving from village to village. By the guidance of Malati Devi, Naba Babu and Gauranga Charan Das, the Harijans of Bagalpur launched movement against the high caste Hindus. This movement effaced the difference between the Harijans and the casteist Hindus. From this, movement, began the political career of Malati Devi.

Malati Devi and Salt Satyagraha

Malati Devi took active part in the salt satyagraha at Inchudi of Balasore district. She had worked there with Rama Devi, Kiranbala Sen and others. By her influence many women joined in the Civil Disobedience movement of Inchudi and prepared salt. She also encouraged the women at srijang to participate in the movement. She also encouraged the women at Kujang who joined the movement with their Queen Bhagyabati Patamahedei. Her fiary speech dragged the women from the four walls of the house, who actively participated in the Salt Satyagraha.

Malati Devi and Monkey Brigade

Malati Devi played a vital role in the boycott of foreign goods and prohibition. During picketing before shops which sold foreign goods by the women, the children of 14 or 15 years replaced them. The Police caned on their palms and blood was oozed from it. Malati Devi, with other women, dressed the Children and fed them with love and care. While picketing before Victoria High School (The Present Bhaktamadhu Vidyapitha) on 20 September 1930, Malati Devi was arrested by the police and at first, kept at Cuttack jail and then transferred to Bhagalpur jail. She encouraged the prisoners saying-

"The jail is our place of liberation
And that is our inn
The inmates sing the song of Swaraj
For twenty-four hours inside it
Remaining behind the iron fence
Our mind is not a Prisoner....."

Malati Devi, Karachi Session of the Congress and other works

Malati Devi attended the Karachi session of the Indian National Congress where it was decided that the next session will be held at Puri. To make the Puri session successful, the 'Hindustani Seva Dal' was formed and as its worker, Malati Devi was first from Odisha to receive training. Returning to Cuttack, she enrolled many women as member of this seva Dal. In 1940, when Gandhiji decided to continue individual Satyagraha, she had selected the name of Malati Devi.

Formation of Congress Socialist Party

In the meanwhile, some Congress workers wanted to form a new party being separated from the National Congress. In Odisha, at Anakhia Ashram, Nabakrushna Choudhury and Malati Devi with other workers formed the 'Utkal Congress Socialist Party'. It was not antithetic to the National Congress, rather it was formed to do much good to the peasants.

Malati Devi and Gandhian Constructive Programme

Malati Devi had played an important role to popularize the Gandhian constructive programme inside odisha. On 30 April 1930 she delivered a firary speech inspiring the people to boycott foreign clothes. Being inspired by her, the cloth merchants of Cuttack did not sell foreign goods. She moved a resolution in the Congress workers meeting at Sambalpur in 1946 regarding the steps to be undertaken for the uplift of Harijans which was unanimously passed. In 1927, she had taken step with her husband, for the improvement of agriculture. She constructed 'Baji Rout Hostel' at Angul and taught its inmates Gandhian constructive works.

Malati Devi, Quit India Movement and Other works

While returning after attending the Bombay session of the National Congress where the Quit India Resolution was passed, Malati Chaudhury was arrested at the Cuttack railway station. She was sent to jail. She was released in 1945. In 1946, She travelled with Mahatma Gandhi in the Noakhali area of West Bengal to pacify the communal riots which had taken place among the Hindus and Muslims. In the same year, she was elected as the member of the Constituent Assembly but she resigned by the request of Thakkar Bapa.

The Peasant Movement and Malati Devi

Malati Devi wanted the allround progress of the peasants. In 1933, she in association with her husband, formed the 'Utkal Congress Socialist Workers' Union' and donated all her ornaments to this union. On behalf of this union, a magazine titled *'Sarathi'* was published and Malati Devi was regularly writing in this magazine reflecting the problems of the workers. She herself also edited one magazine named *'Krusaka'*. At different places of Odisha, she had addressed the farmers gathering. She tried her level best for the all round development of the peasants. She also formed the 'Utkal Congress Socialist Workers Association' ,

Malati Devi and Prajamandal (Garjat) Movement

The Garjat movement at Dhenkanal, Talcher, Nilgiri and other places was galvanized by Malati Devi. She with her husband and another great communist leader, Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi organized many secret meetings in different Garjat areas and encouraged them to become free from the clutches of their rulers. She published a pamphlet titled 'Ranaveri'. Sarangadhar Das also joined with her to organize the Prajamandal movement at Dhenkanal and Baji Rout, a boy of twelve years breathed his last in the police bullet. The then Superintendent of Police (CID), informed the government that Malati Devi was running a camp of the rebellious people at Budhapank but she could not be arrested because there was no sufficient proof against her. In the memory of Baji, she constructed 'Baji Rout Hostel' at Angul.

Malati Devi and the Bhoodan Movement

Malati Devi was inspired by Vinoba Bhave and actively participated in the Bhoodan movement in Odisha. She established 'Navajeevan Mandal' at Angul where the meeting of 'All India Sarvodaya Sevasamgha' was held. She preached about Bhoodan movement at Koraput in 1952. She also participated in Vinoba's padayatra in Odisha in 1955. She composed poems in Odia which were sung by the women during the padayatra.

Malati Devi and other works

In 1975, emergency was declared by the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. Malati Devi organized a meeting at Cuttack and vehemently opposed it. She printed pamphlets against it and while distributing those pamphlets she was booked under the 'National Security Act'. From 1977 to 1983, Malati Devi devoted herself for the uplift of the tribal people. She persuaded them to refrain from taking liquor, opium and other intoxicants. She refused to accept the award from Jamunalal Bajaj foundation for her social service.

The life of Malati Devi was dedicated one for the cause of the society. Although she had come from Bengal but she loved Odisha and worked for the people of Odisha. Her dedication will be ever remembered by the people of this land.

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Chapter – 29

THE PRAJAMANDAL MOVEMENT AND THE MERGER OF PRINCELY STATE IN ORISSA

With the occupation of Orissa by the British in 1803, Marattha rule in Orissa came to an end. During the British rule, princes of the native states committed barbaric atrocities on their subjects. The Britishers unhesitatingly supported the authority in these princely or native states. When torture and exploitation of the princes became intolerable, the subjects of these provinces revolted against the authorities. The princes, however crushed this rebellion with traditional ferocity. When India became independent on 15 August 1947, the hitherto sovereign princely states of Orissa merged into the national mainstream largely through the efforts of Sardar Patel and Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab.

THE PRAJAMANDAL MOVEMENT

During the British rule, the princely or the native states of Orissa enjoyed sovereign power. Gradually, however, the kings of these areas became repressive. Exploitation and repression became a characteristic feature of all native states. The people were exploited through several means of taxation like 'Rasad', 'Magan', 'Bethi' and 'Begari'. Finally, when exploitation of the people became unbearable, they were captivated by a burning desire to revolt. Their accumulated hatred and anger against the ruling princes were manifested in the Prajamandal movement (*Praja*-subjects or common people).

Emergence of Native states

During the Gajapati rule in Orissa, the hereditary feudatory kings ruling in the hilly tracts of Orissa had been enjoying internal sovereignty of power since the days of the Mughals. But in the areas occupied by the Mughals known as the *Mughalbandi* kingdom, the Mughal administrative system was in operation. The kings of these mountainous states or the *'Garajat'* states paid taxes and homage to the Mughals. When the Maratthas occupied Orissa, the kings of these Garajat areas paid tribute to the Maratthas in exchange for retaining their internal sovereignty. The system was perpetuated when the British captured Orissa, that is the Garajat princes paid taxes to the British while retaining their sovereign internal power. In 1936 the new Orissa province was created and in the same year the Eastern States Agency was divided into three sections. In the Orissa State Agency, of the 26 Garajat regions under the Orissa division, 23 were retained in Orissa of the remaining 3, Mayurbhanj stayed in the Bengal Agency whereas Kalahandi and Patna were retained under the Chattisgarh Agency. In 1937, in accordance with the importance of these native states, they were divided into A, B and C sections. In the 'A' category were states like Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Bamanda, Boudh, Gangapur, Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Sareikala and Nayagarh- a total of 11 states. To the 'B' category were included states like Athagarh, Baramba, Narsinghpur, Athamallik, Hindol, Daspalla, Khandapara, Kharasuan, Rairakhol, Talcher, Bolangir, and Nilgiri a total of 12 states. The 'C' category comprised of Pallahara, Ranpur and Tigiria a total of 3 states. Prior to the Prajamandal movement the whole lot of these Garajat states paid taxes to the British and were loyal to them. In return the British allowed them to enjoy internal sovereignty.

Factors for the Prajamandal Rebellion : Economic Exploitation

Factors for the Prajamandal movement in Orissa were quite evident. The kings of these Garajat states led a life of extreme luxury and pomp. Hence huge amount of money was essential to cater to their needs. All the amount was extracted by the king's officers from the people. The people's condition gradually became more and more miserable. When their economic backbone was broken and they could endure no more, the people took to revolt against such atrocities.

The King's Tyranny

Apart from the regular taxes, the kings extracted money and services from the people through various dubious means. Among such taxes were *Bethi*, *Begari*, *Magana*, *Rasad*, *Bheti* and *Karasamagri*. 'Bethi' was applied for palace construction or garden beautification without paying any wages to the workers. To carry goods and domestic articles of royal officers from one place to another, free of cost, was known as 'Begari'. When there was either a wedding or a death in the royal family or even when the king purchased a new car, the people had to pay either in cash or in kind and this was known as 'Magana'. When the king's officers toured village areas and put up camps at different places, their food and comforts were to be provided by the 'Praja' or the people and this was known as 'Rasad'. 'Bheti' was the gift which was bound to be offered by the people to the king when the king gave them audience. The king was to be provided with rice, pulses, cereals and ghee at half the market price and this was known as Karasamagri. The people had to endure such tyrannical whims of the king. In future, however, they became the means to incite the people to revolt and thus paved the way for the prajamandal movement.

Frequent tax increase

The other factor leading to the movement was frequent tax increase. Even after exploiting the people in various ways, the kings did not rescind from resorting to frequent tax increase. The peoples' life became a burden to them and they were forced to raise their voice against the king's tyranny.

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE MOVEMENT

Between 1908 and 1928, five peasant rebellions were witnessed in Bamanda. They resented the unjustiful tax increase.

When a few leaders were imprisoned the rebellion subsided. In Dhenkanal a peoples' rebellion broke out in 1922 under the leadership of Maheswar Subahu Singh, Purna Chandra Mohapatra and Benudhar Panda. Peoples' movements were witnessed in Nilgiri in 1928, in Boudh in 1930 and in Talcher in 1932. All the rebellions were suppressed ruthlessly.

Conference of the People of Orissa Garajat states

To give a proper direction to the Prajamandal movement, for the first time on 20 June 1931, the *'Orissa Garajat state people's Association'* was convered at Cuttack. Its first session was presided over by Bhubanananda Das. The conference gave a call to the subject people to establish their rights through rebellion. After this, on 23-24 June 1937, the second session of the conference was presided over by a senior leader of the Congress, Pattabhi Sitarammayya. The conference adopted a resolution for the abolition of *Begari, Magana, Rasad, Bheti.* Hereafter an enquiry committee was set up under Satish Chandra Bose, Balwantrai Mehta, Braja Sunder Das and Sarangadhar Das. The committee was sympathetic to the cause of the 'Prajas' and it supported their demands. This gave a new momentum to the Prajamandal movement.

The Movement at different places : Nilgiri

The 1938 Prajamandal movement at Nilgiri is a very special event in the history of Orissa. Under the initiative of Harakrushna Mahtab and Sarangdhar Das a 'Prajamandal' was formed at Gariamal. Its president was Kailash Chandra Mohanty and the secretary was Banamali Das. On 11 July 1938, that is on the day of the Rath Yatra (car festival) they addressed a huge gathering and made pointed references to the misrule of the king. Their demands included the formulation of a new agricultural policy, to stop paying unjustified taxes and for evolving a welfare-oriented administrative system. However, the people were advised to achieve their aims through non-violent means. By the king's order 120 people were arrested of whom 50 were fined Rs. 50 each and the rest were put in jail. When Banamali Das was marching towards Machhuapatna leading 5000 people, to start peaceful satyagraha, the king sought help from the Orissa police. Finally, through the intervention of the Political Agent Major Bezelgate, Harekrushna Mahatab and the Balasore magistrate Sulaiman, the rebellion came to an end. The people's demands were conceded by the king to a very large degree.

'Ranabheri' Dhenkanal

The 'Praja' of Dhenkanal started a rebellion against the payment of Bethi, Magana, Rasad and Sunia Bheti. The objectives of the Prajamandal were printed in pamphlets known as and were circulated among the people. On 13 September 1938 despite police warning while Harekrushna Mahatab, Naba Krushna Chowdhury and Sarangdhar Das addressed a mammoth rally of more than 50,000 men, the state police and the British police resorted to lathicharge on the people. The Congress leadership, nevertheless advised people not to get cowed down by such atrocities but to continue with the movement in a peaceful manner. Harmohan Patnaik was arrested and sent to Cuttack jail and houses of many of the Prajamandal leaders were burnt. A 12 year old boy Baji Rout was killed in police firing, but the people continued with the movement hoping to get justice. 29 October 1938 was celebrated as the *'Garajat Day'*. Finally in 1939, as per the report of the Central Police Bureau, the British government withdrew all powers of the king of Dhenkanal. The king's powers were now vested in the hands of Khan Bahadur A. K. Khan. *'Bethi'* was revoked , land tax was reduced from four *annas* to two *annas* and all arrested leaders were released.

Talcher

The Prajamandal movement in Talcher assumed dangerous proportions. Extremely loathsome and inhuman treatment like severe caning, spitting and urinating in peoples' mouth, were meted out by the Talcher royal authorities. In 1939, under the leadership of the Talcher Prajamandal President Pabitra Mohan Pradhan, the people presented the king a petition of demands for stopping of such barbaric punishments and for the withdrawal of Magana, Rasad etc. The movement at Talcher was conducted by Krutibas Rath, Maguni Pradhan, Dasarathi Pani and others. The 'Prajas' or the people left Talcher and took refuge in the British ruled Anugul region. Many leaders of the Congress reached Anugul and the political agent Mr. Hessene and Harekrushna Mahatab signed a pact in 1939. This is famous as the *Hessene-Mahatab Agreement.* Gandhiji expressed his satisfaction over the agreement. The King had to accept most of the clauses of the agreement. Peace was restored at last and the people who fled Talcher returned home.

Gangapur

The *Gangapur* Prajamandal movement too assumed a fearful character. Upon the death of the king, the queen took charge of the administration into her hands. The 'Praja' of Gangapur mostly belonged to the Munda tribe and their leader was Nirmal Munda. He protested against tax increase, but his efforts were futile. Hence he incited the people not to pay taxes. The queen requested the assistant political agent Lt. Megar to arrest him. While having discussions with the people, the police misinterpreted the peoples' language and their signs. It resulted in an unprovoked firing by the British on innocent people and many were killed and injured. Many denounced the British for having resorted to such barbaric acts. But even then the Queen of Gangapur showed no sympathy to the people..

Ranpur

The *Ranpur* Prajamandal movement was reflection of the all-Orissa peoples' or 'Praja' dissatisfaction against their rules. The people demanded an end to misrule and tyranny and inaugurate an era of benevolent administration on 27 December 1939. The king imprisoned the rebels but there was a tremendous uproar for freeing the people. The king became panicky and took shelter under the political agent Major Bezelgate. On 5 January 1939, a huge congregation moved towards the palace. Bezelgate too, moved with the police towards the palace. He was surrounded by the people but he asked them to disperse and clear away from the path leading towards the palace: But the people paid no heed to his warning.(Bezelgate opened fire and one 'praja' was killed in the firing.)Suddenly the people became violent and Bezelgate was beaten mercilessly. Helpless, Bezelgate ran towards the house of a 'praja' to hide under a bullock cart. But under the direction of Raghunath Monanty and Dibakar Parida, he was dragged out and beaten severely. Bezelgate succumbed to his injuries. After this the British police started a ruthless repression and brought an end to the Ranpur Prajamandal movement. 26 people were tried. Raghunath Mohanty was hanged and Dibakar Parida was deported to the Andamans. Hereafter, the efforts of Harakrushna Mahatab and Professor N. G. Ranga were successful in finding a way to end the Prajamandal movements. The memories of the martyrs Raghu-Dibakar are still alive in the minds of Oriyas.

Nayagarh

Like Ranpur, there was rebellion in Nayagarh too. But the rebellion in Nayagarh subsided after the death of Bezelgate in Ranapur. Bezelgate was supposed to move to Nayagarh from Ranpur. His death at the hands of the people of Ranpur stalled the rebellion at Nayagrah.

Bonai

At Bonaigarh, the Prajamandal was formed in 1938. The praja raised voice against Bethi etc. and demanded withdrawal of such obnoxious taxes. They submitted a representation to the king. The king considered these demands and withdrew Bethi. But for the purpose of construction of roads and government buildings, he levied small taxes on the people. The people however, held a meeting and decided to disobey the orders of the king.

Sonepur

Under the Presidentship of Bhimsen Bhoi, on 11 December 1938, the Sonepur Prajamandal was formed . The people started Satyagraha against the oppression of the king. The king of Sonepur declared the Prajamandal illegal and arrested Bhimsen Bhoi. Gauntia Dolamani Das too was arrested, his property was confiscated and he was deported to the Andamans. In this manner the sonepur rebellion was suppressed.

Mayurbhanj

In 1940, the Prajamandal was formed in Mayurbhanj. Sarat Chandra Das was its president. To denigrate the Prajamandal in the eyes of the people, the king formed a parallel government organisation known as the *Prajamangal* and started delivering assistance to the people. But the Prajamandal slowly and steadily pursued the movement in a non-violent manner. On 16 September 1947, it presented a charter of demands to the king Maharaja Pratap Chandra Bhanjadeo. The charter specifically demanded reforms in the administration. As a result, the king was forced to form a three-man cabinet which included Sarat Chandra Das. He became a constitutional monarch looking after the well being of the people. Though very late, the Mayurbhanj Prajamandal had achieved success beyond expectation.

Other places

The Prajamandal movement was witnessed in other parts of Orissa too. Notable among them were Khandapara, Patna, and Kalahandi. The people had become quite conscious about their rights. Through the Prajamandal by non-violent means they were successful in presenting their viewpoint to their respective kings. Many leaders of congress addressed the 'prajas' and greatly helped them in activating their movement. It resulted in making the Prajamandal movement in Orissa successful to a very large degree.

Results

The consequences of the Prajamandal movement in Orissa were far-reaching. It was successful in putting forth the demands of the people in a very forceful way. Killing of Bezelgate made the fact brutally clear. Hence the kings became tolerant towards the people to a certain degree. In 1939 the Government of Orissa set up a State Enquiry Committee and came to know the reasons for the movement. It was evident that excessive oppression by the kings was the root cause of the movement. Next, the people realised that non-violence was the most effective weapon they possessed and they had a firm conviction that it was through this their demands could be fulfilled. Finally, the Prajamandal movement was a catalyst in accelerating the process of merger of the 'garajat' or the native, princely states.

The Prajamandal movement opened a new chapter in the history of Orissa. Tyrannised by the kings for generations, the people finally raised their voice against the institution of monarchy as a whole and were successful to a very large extent in achieving their demands. The Congress too rendered assistance to the people in this democratic campaign. The Prajamandal movement sounded the death-knell of monarchy in Orissa.

MERGER OF THE PRINCELY STATES OF ORISSA

After the end of the Second World War, in the elections held to the Orissa Provinceal Legislative Assembly, the congress got a majority. Harekrushna Mahatab was appointed Prime Minister on 3 April 1946. It was during that year the Cabinet Mission visited India and Mahatab gave assurance that he would place before it the issue of the merger of the 'garajat' states with the new Orissa province. After India's independence Nilgiri was the first Garajat state in Orissa from where sounds of revolt were heard. The authorities were forced to merge Nilgiri with the Orissa administration. Hereafter Iron man Sardar Patel and Harekrushna Mahatab made persistent effort to end the separate existence of the native princely states. These states were subsequently merged with Orissa.

Prologue to the merger

Harekrushna Mahatab took the initiative of merging all the native states with the Orissa administration by putting forth this demand before the Cabinet Mission. On 16 October 1947 he convened a meeting of all the kings of the princely states at Sambalpur. He tried to convince them that for maintenance of peace, discipline, law and order, it was extremely essential that all these native states should merge with Orissa. But this meeting did not yield very positive results. The kings of the native provinces put forth a counter arguement that yielding to Mahatab's demand implied their losing all privileges they had been enjoying for generations. They conveniently tried to overlook the implications of the Prajamandal movements in the recent past and tended to ignore the possibility of what shape it could take in future. For the time being, however, Mahatab felt thoroughly discouraged.

Cuttack Prajamandal conference

Just on the eve of independence on 10 August 1947, a conference of the Prajamandal was convened. The people of Chhatisgarh and the other native states of Orissa participated in this meeting. In the context of India's attainment of independence, the role of this conference was significant. The people unequivocally expressed their desire to merge with Orissa and the proposal was formally accepted in this conference. But the decision of the people in this conference fell on deaf ears of the concerned kings of the native states. In future, however, the kings had to bear the consequences.

The king of Patna Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo tried to foil Mahatab's efforts for the merger of the native states with Orissa. R. N. Singh Deo took the leadership in forming the *Eastern Zone Native States Association* comprising of the Garajat regions of Chhatisgarh and Orissa. It was inaugurated on 1 August 1947. This new body had its own police force and in case there was any sign of disturbance in any native state its police force was prepared to crush it. Hence at this juncture any possibility of the merger of the Garajat states with Orissa seemed remote. This was a rude shock to Mahatab.

Merger of Nilgiri

Immediately after the independence of India the situation in Nilgiri became very tense. The king of Nilgiri in order to strengthen his position tried to befriend the adivasisan or tribal people. He even directed the *adivasis* to fight against the non-adivasis with bows-arrows and spears and to burn and destroy their houses. By such actions the king believed he could terrorise the 'prajas' or people and compel them to seek his protection. He could then impose his will on them as he had been doing. But matters turned out contrary to his expectations. The people could see through the king's game and regrouped again to revolt against him. This was a rare opportunity for the then Prime Minister of Orissa Harekrushna Mahatab. He promptly dashed to Delhi and sought permission of the Home Minister Sardar Patel for the merger of Nilgiri with Orissa. The permission was granted immediately. On his return from Delhi on 14 November he despatched the Magistrate of Balasore and the Revenue Minister of Orissa, Naba Krushna Chowdhury with an armed police force to take over the administration of the Nilgiri state. The king of Nilgiri was undone and having no alternative surrendered the administration of his state to the Province of Orissa from among the Garajat states, Nilgiri was the first victim which now merged with Orissa. Thus taking advantage of the rapidly spreading discontent and the consequent misrule, Harekrushna Mahatab acted swiftly and with great alacrity to bring about the merger of Nilgiri with Orissa.

Political Development

Hereafter on 20 November 1947, a meeting was arranged in the chamber of the Home secretary V. P. Menon. The meeting was attended among others by, Harekrushna Mahatab, C.C. Desai, B.D.S. Bedi. They unanimously supported the merger of the Garajat states with Orissa. It was decided that in the near future, the kings of all the Gadajat states would be summoned together and advised for the merger of their respective states with Orissa. At Delhi, almost simultaneously, Sardar Patel proposed to break up the Eastern Region Native States Association (Purbanchal Desiya Rajya Sangha). This indeed was a shot in the arm for Harekrushna Mahatab. On his return he became active to give shape to the discussions held at Delhi.

The Cuttack Conference

On 24 December 1947, Mahatab convened a meeting at Cuttack for the purpose of the merger of the Garajat States. Heeding his request Sardar Patel attended this meeting. He personally had discussions with the kings of the A. B, and C categories Gadajat States. Initiating the discussions with the B & C category states, he later on invited the kings of the 'A' category states. While he advised the kings there was also a subtle note of warning that in independent India there was no scope left for the native princely states. Hence their merger with Orissa was not only essential, it was inevitable. Sardar Patel's proposals were opposed by the kings of the A category states. Before leaving Cuttack for Bhubaneswar, Sardar Patel again advised the kings that signing the agreement on merger of their respective states would demonstrate their sign of maturity.

Sardar Patel was wise and he knew the art of diplomacy. He patiently waited at the Cuttack railway station for an hour. In the meanwhile V. P. Menon had returned after collecting the signatures of all the kings. The king of Mayurbhanj, however, put forth the argument that he had installed a constitutional government but later on it mergerd with Orissa. Hereafter the process of merger of the Garajat states with Orissa took a final shape.

Merger of the Garajat States

The efforts of Sardar Patel, Harekrushna Mahatab and V. P. Menon had made possible the merger of the Garajat states with Orissa. On 23 December 1947, as per the '**Extra Provincial Jurisdiction Act,**' the administration of the Garajat states was transferred to the hands of Government of Orissa. It became operational on 1 January 1948. However, it is to be borne in mind that when the Garajat states merger conference was summoned in Cuttack, the leaders of the Prajamandal movement were not invited, Apprehending trouble and confusion, Mahatab deliberately did not call them. After the merger of the Garajat states Mahatab appointed Kapileswar Nanda of Bolangir, Kailash Chandra Mohanty of Nilgiri and Pabitra Mohan Pradhan of Talcher as 'advisors' with the rank of Ministers. Indeed, largely through the efforts of Harekrushna Mahatab 24, A B and C category Garajat states merged with Orissa. Mayurbhanj was the only Garajat state that merged with India on 16 October 1948 but in 1949 the central Government handed the state to the Government of Orissa. Tragically though, Sareikela and Kharasuna remained detached from Orissa forever.

Revolt in Sareikela Kharasuan

Though Mayurbhanj merged with Orissa, the twin Garajat states of Sareikela and Kharasuan were merged with Bihar. This resulted in the outbreak of rebellion in these two states. Brutal force was used to crush the rebellion. For ever, these two states had to stay away from Orissa. The people's desire of merging with Orissa remained a distant dream due to Sardar Patel's policy of 'blood and iron'. He wanted these two states to remain in Bihar.

Results of Garajat merger

The consequences of the merger of the Garajat states were many. Primarily, by merging with Orissa, the kings and people the Garajat states could feel the sweet taste of independence. Second, by becoming a part of democracy, the people and the kings of native states gradually got acquainted with a new form of government and its working process. Third, the fire of the accumulated anger of the people of these areas was finally extinguished after the total merger of the Garajat states with Orissa. Finally, with the intervention of the Government of Orissa, the huge deposit of mineral resources in these Garajat area, were now beneficially utilised by the state.

A new era dawned in the history of Orissa after the merger of the native princely states with Orissa, After being oppressed by monarchical tyranny for generations, the 'Prajas' or people, now basked under the refreshing sunshine of independence. It has been rightly said, "better the perils of liberty than the previleges of servitude". The barrier between the ruler and the ruled was broken forever into pieces. All were now the sons of mother Utkal. Indeed, the memory of the merger of the Garajat states with Orissa still fascinates Oriyas.

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Chapter – 30

FORMATION OF SEPARATE ORISSA PROVINCE : ROLE OF KRUSHNA CHANDRA GAJAPATI NARAYAN DEO

The formation of a separate Orissa province is a landmark in the modern history of this land. The fragmented Oriya-speaking tracts which remained in Bihar, Madras Presidency, Central Province and Bengal were at last united and the separated province of Orissa was formed on 1st April 1936. This formation became a stern reality due to the untiring leadership of Madhusudan Das, Fakirmohan Senapati, Gangadhra Meher, Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo, Lingaraj Panigrahi, Niranjan Patnayak, Jagabandhu Singh and many other celebrities who contributed in their own ways to this cause. Among them, the role of Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayana Deo, the Maharaja of Paralakhemundi was unique and memorable for so many reasons.

With the consecration of Krushna Chandra Gajapati as the Maharaja of Paralakhemundi in 1913, a new chapter began in the formation of separate Orissa province. That was the time of political confusion in this land and the towering personalities like Madhusudan Das, Gopabandhu Das, Fokirmohan Senapati, Nilakantha Das and others were trying their level best to preserve Oriya language and to unite the fragmented Oriya-speaking tracts scattered in different provinces. At this background, emerged Krushna Chandra Gajapati to play his role. By that time Ganjam was in the Telugu dominated Madras Presidency. The cry of the leaders of this land for the formation of separate province had entered into the soul of the Maharaja who came forward and became one of the makers of modern Orissa.

The Maharaja and Utkal Sammilani

Amidst the First World War, on 26th and 27th December, 1914, the 10th session of the *Utkal Sammilani* began at Paralakhemundi under the patronage of Krushna Chandra Gajapati. He took keen interest in looking after the delegates and spent ten thousand rupees for the organisation of the session. The Conference was attended by leading personalities of the land like Modhusudan Das, Gopabandhu Das, Godavarish Mishra, Krushna Chandra Acharya, Sasibhusan Ray and many other kings and princes. Madhusudan gave a fiery speech alleging the British authorities of the Madras Presidency in frustrating the cause of the Oriya movement in Southern India. While acknowledging the role of Paralakhemundi in making the movement of the Oriyas for the creation of a separate province, he admired the active role of Krushna Chandra for successfully organising the session in the following words—"The Young Raja was, so to say, the chief of the volunteer organisation." This inspired him a lot and made him more enthusiastic to further the cause

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of integration of the Oriya-speaking tracts. He carefully watched the historic proceedings of the session. Some of the important proceedings were as follows—

1. The conference wished success for the British government in the war.
2. It urged for the creation of a separate state of Orissa by bringing together the Oriya-speaking tracts under on administration.
3. It urged the British government to declare Oriya as court language in Singhabhumi, Jeypore, Phuljhar, Chandrapur-Padmapur area and to make provision for educational facilities through the medium of Oriya.
4. It demanded a separate University for the sake of the Oriya speaking people.
5. It was resolved that a railway line should be opened from Khurda connecting it with Sambalpur.
6. It was resolved that Jeypore should be constituted as a separate district of Orissa province.

These decisions of the conference made his outlook further progressive and emboldened his spirit to fight for the cause of the Oriyas on the line shown to him by great leaders like Madhusudan and others.

Krushna Chandra and the Philip-Duff Committee :

After the Montagu- Chelmsford proposals and the Sinha Resolution, the Government of India realised the problem of the transfer of Oriya-speaking tracts from Madras Presidency. At this juncture, in 1922 by the initiative of Madhusudan Das a resolution was passed by the Bihar and Orissa Legisative Council for the amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts. Keeping this in view the Government of India appointed a committee in 1924, popularly known as Philip-Duff Committe. It consisted of C. L. Philip and A. C. Duff, the then political agent, Orissa State and the then Collector of Vizagapatnam respectively. Krushna Chandra Gajapati suggested for the amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts and the formation of Orissa Province on linguistic basis. This led the committee to observe in this report.

> "Our enquiry has shown that there is a genuine long-standing and deep-seated desire on the part of the educated Oriya classes of the Oriya-speaking tracts of Madras for the amalgamation of these tracts with Orissa under one administration."

Further, the Committee suggested that Mandasa, Tekall, Tarala, Budarsingh, Jalantar and Paralakhemundi estates of Ganjam should be included in Orissa.

The Madras Government took a very critical stand on the report of Philip-Duff Committee. It opposed the proposal of the committee and opined in 1922 that if Ganjam is to be transferred to Orissa, it should be on restricted basis. Again in 1926, the Madras Government posed difficulty of such amalgamation. Now, K.C. Gajapati had come to lime light. It became quite apparent in 1933 when in a farewell meeting organised by the public of Orissa at Cuttack, C.L.Philip said—

> "Our recommendation in the Committee report of 1924 was mostly guided by the views and the wishes of the Maharaja of Paralakhemundi, the leading zamindar of Ganjam."

K. C. Gajapati and the Simon Commission

The Simon Commission which visited India in 1928 consisted of seven white members. Not a single Indian had represented the Commission. The Indian National Congress had passed the resolution to boycott the Commission and as such, the Commission was welcomed with black flags and the shout "Simon—go back." The Government of Bihar and Orissa submitted a memorandum stating that Oriyas inhabiting in Madras Presidency, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal and Central Provinces wanted a "United Orissa". Surcharged with the spirit of framing a united Orissa, K. C. Gajapati met the Commission at Madras and convinced it regarding the need of the Oriyas for the formation of a separate province. After that, the *Utkal Sammilani*, the Madras Presidency, Oriya Association, Berhampur and on behalf of the Oriyas memorandums were submitted to the Commission urging the integration of the Oriya-speaking tracts under one administration.

Abided by the decision of the Indian National Congress, the Orissa Congress boycotted the Simon Commission. On the other hand, the *Utkal Sammilani* welcomed the Commission at Patna.The Bihar and Orissa Provincial Committee of the Simon Commission supported the cause of a separate Province for the Oriyas. The Simon Commission was impressed for the appointment of a special sub-committee to consider the case of Oriyas.The sub-committee strongly recommended the cause of the formation of a separate state of Orissa and also emphasised upon its relation with other feudatory states. In the meanwhile in 1930, K. C. Gajapati was elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly from the Ganjam Constituency. The Report of the Simon Commission was published on 27 May, 1930 which recommended that the formation of Orissa as a separate province would be examined further. This gave new inspiration to the Oriyas.

K. C. Gajapati and the Round Table Conference

The First Round Table Conference of 1930 was boycotted by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. By that time, K. C. Gajapati had been recommended by the Government of Bihar and Orissa to represent the cause of the Oriyas, in that conference. Without caring for the decision of the Congress but caring fully for the aims and aspirations of the Oriyas he went to London, to attend the conference. With his arrival at London he found that the agenda for the conference had already been prepared. This disappointed him a lot but with patience, he waited to find out a chance for ventilating the grievances of the Oriyas.

Such a chance came on 16 January, 1931 when the conference met to consider the case of Sind as a separate province. At that juncture, the Gajapati sought the permission of the British Prime Minister to speak something on the creation of a separate province for the Oriyas. He was given permission to speak on that issue in general. With enthusiasm, he gave his historic speech on the First Round Table Conference—

> "Sir, on behalf of 10 million of Oriyas, the subjects of His Majesty, I rise to represent their long standing grievances on this occasion........ I should lay before you all to-day that formation of separate province for the Oriyas is a life and death problem to them. They feel tortured with all the disabilities and disadvantages of one being a distant adjunct lying at the tail end of every province wherever they are, far away from the seat of Government

> of the respective province and always in a unique minority, completely lost sight of being merged in the million of population of these provinces..... I am right, I think, Sir, in my presumption, that you all consider the Oriya problem as the least controversial of all the problems that this conference has had to deal with..... It is for you to make or mar the destiny of an ancient race, vast in numbers, cultured and advanced, but placed under painful circumstances now, though their past was bright and full of unique interest and of historical importance as those of any of the present advanced communities of India."

The short but historic speech of K. C. Gajapati led the British authorities to feel the genuineness of the Oriyas for the formation of a separate state. His name was included in the Sub-Committee No-II on Provincial Constitution and Sub-Committee No-VI (Franchise) and Sub-Committee No-VIII (Services). During his stay at London, he exerted great influence over Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State and other members of the First Round Table Conference that facilitated for the creation of Orissa Province in future. Commenting on the heroic achievement of K. C. Gajapati, Dewan Bahadur S. K. Mahapatra said—

> "There have been many battles fought by the Rajas of Orissa in the past in the South and in the North. But this last battle of Orissa was fought by the Maharaja Sri K. C. Gajapati Deo of Paralakhemundi as the Commander-in-Chief of the Oriyas on the banks of the river Thames in London and we came out successfully."

Needless to say that it was the efforts of K. C. Gajapati that prompted the Government of India to appoint O' Donnell Committee in 1931 to determine the boundary of Orissa Province.

The Maharaja and the O' Donnell Committee

The Orissa Boundary Committee was headed by S. P. O' Donnell, the Chairman. Two other honourable members of the Committee were H. M. Mehta of Bombay and T.R. Phookun of Assam. Besides the associate members of this Committee were Maharaja K. C. Gajapati who represented Orissa, Sachidananda Sinha representing Bihar and C.V.S. Narasimha Raju. The Committee held its first meeding of 7th November, 1931. It invited memorandum from public bodies, different associations and leading public figures. In course of its investigation, it visited Chaibasa, Jamshedpur, Raipur, Sambalpur, Midnapur, Gopalpur, Waltiar, Coconada and Cuttack. It examined 410 witnesses. The memoranda submitted by Utkal Union Committee and other associations claimed the inclusion of the Orissa division, Angul; the subdivision of Contai and Jhargram and the thanas of Kharagpur, Narayan Garh, Danton, Mohanpur, Kesharai, the Sadar subdivision the district of Midnapur in Bengal; the thanas of Similipal, Raipur and Khatra of the district of Bankura in Bengal; the district of Singhbhum, the thanas of Barbhum, Phuljhar and Chandial of Manbhum district; the district of Ranchi; the *zamindaries* of Khariar, Phuljhar, and Bindra Nuagarh in Mahasam Tahsil of Raipur district; the *zamindaries* of Chandrapur-Padmapur and Malkhurda and a group of nine villages called the "Jogni villages" in the Bilaspur district; the district of Ganjam (including the agency tracts) and finally, Vizagapatam agency excluding Gudam Taluk.

After careful consideration, the O' Donnel Committee submitted its report on 19 April, 1932. It recommended that the new Province of Orissa would include "the Orissa Division, Angul, the Khariar zamindari of the Riapur district and the greater part of the Ganjam district and the Vizagapatam Agency tracts" having an area of 33,000 square miles and a population about 8,277,000 persons. At the end of the Third Round Table Conference, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India declared on 24 December 1932 about the creation of a separate province of Orissa. In 1933, the White Paper was published that mentioned Orissa as a Governor's province but reduced its boundary from 33,000 square miles to 21,545 square miles by excluding Vizagapatam Agency, Jalantar Malias and Paralakhemundi which had been recommended by the O' Donnell Committee to be included in the separate province of Orissa.

Delegation to London

This was a traumatic shock to the people of Orissa. Sachidananda Sinha, brought an amendment suggesting for further modification of the White Paper proposals regarding the boundary of Orissa. K. C. Gajapati headed a delegation to meet the Secretary of State for India. The Secreatary talked with the delegation on 3 July, 1933 and after careful consideration proposed to include Jeypore and some Madras areas in new province of Orissa. However, K. C. Gajapati was firm in his view to include Paralakhemundi in the new province. By that time, false cables were sent to the Secretary of State for India at London that the people of Orissa were prepared to accept the province of Orissa without Jeypore and Parlakhemundi. The secretary consulted K. C. Gajapati who firmly protested and convinced the secretary regarding the falsity of the cable. Even, he went to the extent of dividing his estate but to retain Paralakhemundi with the boundary of the new province of Orissa. The members of the Joint Select Committee assured K. C. Gajapati for the same and he returned to Orissa with new hope and reached Parlakhemundi 13 August, 1933. On 28 September, 1933 he wrote a letter to Madhusudan Das stating that he had well convinced the problem of the Oriyas to the British dignitaries. In his words—

> "I have every reason to believe that the boundaries of Orissa as were published in the White Paper recommendation will be enlarged and large portion of Jeypore of Vizagapatam district as well as of Paralakhemundi and other contiguous parts of this district will be joining in."

To the utter dismay of K. C. Gajapati the inclusion of Paralakhemundi was not there within the boundary of Orissa as was revealed from Major Atlee's draft in the Joint Parliamentary Committee that stated—

> "We are also strongly in favour of the constitution for the new province of Orissa, which will, we believe, do an act of justice to the claims of the Oriya-speaking people.We think that the boundaries of the province should be increased by the addition of the Jaypore zamindari. We have great sympathy with the desire of the Raja of Paralakhemudi for the inclusion of his state in the new province, but in view of the racial and linguistic composition of the population there in contained,we are unable to recommend that his desire should be accorded to."

Discussion with the Viceroy

In the meanwhile, passed away *Utkal Gaurav* Madhusudan on 3 February, 1934. In April K. C. Gajapati with other deputationists proceeded to Delhi to meet the Viceroy and was told by the latter's private Secretary that they should produce the Census Record and Map as required by the Viceroy for settling the issue. So, K. C. Gajapati sent a telegram to his *Dewan* Laxmi Narayan Patnaik to do the needful and the latter accomplished the task with the help of Satyanarayan Rajguru and others and despatched them immediately to Delhi. The Viceroy received the records and maps and sent them to London with this positive note for the consideration of the Secretary of State. These documents were placed before the Joint-Select Committee which examined them carefully and opined—

> "The White Paper plan to create new province of Sind and Orissa is approved, but it is recommended that the Orissa boundaries should be extended to include that portion of the Jaypore Estate recommended for transfer by the Orissa Committee of 1932 together with the Paralakemundi and Jalantra Malihas and a small portion of the Paralakemundi Estate including Paralakemundi town."

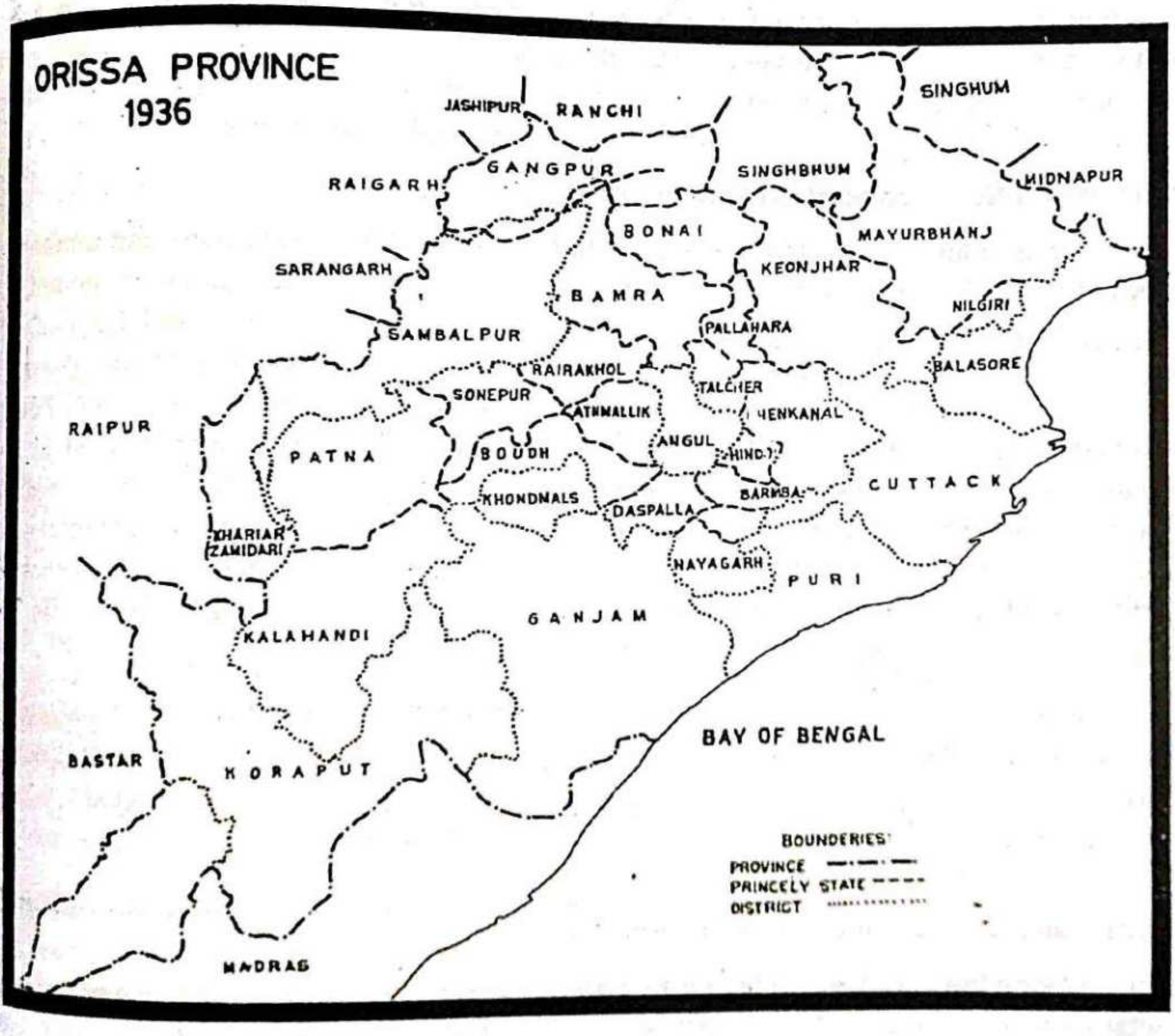
This fulfilled the long-cherished desire of K. C. Gajapati for the formation of a new province.

Creation of Orissa Province

Basing on the Report of the Joint Select Committee of 1934, a Bill was introduced in the British House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India. This was passed into law and was popularly known as the Government of India Act, 1935. The Order-in-Council for the formation of the province of Orissa was simultaneously released in England and India on 21 January, 1936. The Government of India (Constitution of Orissa) order, 1936 contained the provisions of the separate Orissa Province. The total area of the new province of Orissa finally became 32,695 square miles. The new province of Orissa, thus, was created on 28 March 1936 which consisted of six districts, viz-Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Ganjam, Koraput and Sambalpur. Sir John Austin Habback became the first Governor of Orissa. In that afternoon, K. C. Gajapati hoasted a grand party inside the Barabati fort at Cuttack which was attended by thousands of official and non-official gentlemen. From 1st April, 1936, the new province of Orissa assumed its function..

With the creation of a separate Orissa Province, the people of Orissa gave him cordial welcome at various places. In a reply to the reception organised in his honour at Purushottampur, he replied "whenever I have done for Orissa, I consider it to be my duty." Further, he appealed to the people of Orissa to devote their heart and soul for the improvement of the condition of this state. His heart cried for the Oriyas who remained outside the province of Orissa, particularly at Singhbhumi.

The dream of K. C. Gajapati became a stern reality. Orissa became a separate Province. In the election of 1937, the Congress won majority seats but it could not form the ministry owing to the principle matter. When the talk with the Congress failed, the Governor invited K. C. Gajapati, the President of the National Party to form the government. He was designated as the Prime Minister of Orissa and devoted his heart and soul for making a glorious Orissa. The zeal, the enthusiasm and the spirit with which he fought for the cause of the creation of a separate Orissa province was really memorable. Against heavy odds, he projected the idea of a unified Orissa before the Britishers and made it a reality. For his devotion and dedication for the formation of a separate Orissa province, Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo will be ever remembered as one of the makers of modern Orissa.


ORISSA PROVINCE
1936
JASHIPUR
RANCHI
SINGHUM
GANGPUR
RAIGARH
SINGHBHUM
MIDNAPUR
BONAI
MAYURBHANJ
SARANGARH
KEONJHAR
BAMRA
NILGIRI
PALLAHARA
SAMBALPUR
RAIRAKHOL
BALASORE
SONEPUR
TALCHER
ATHMALLIK
DHENKANAL
RAIPUR
PATNA
BOUDH
ANGUL
HINDOL
CUTTACK
BARMBA
KHONDMALS
DASPALLA
KHARIAR ZAMIDARI
NAYAGARH
PURI
GANJAM
KALAHANDI
BAY OF BENGAL
BASTAR
KORAPUT
BOUNDERIES:
PROVINCE
PRINCELY STATE
DISTRICT
MADRAS

Chapter–31

ROLE OF ORISSAN WOMEN IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

History of freedom movement is not a record of events or bunch of episodes that form part there of. It is rather a whole story in which the role of everyone is to be reflected with proper perspective. The visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Orissa in 1921 had galvanised the freedom movement in Orissa. The women of Orissa also not legged behind their counterparts in carrying on protracted struggle against the British Raj.

Women and Non-Cooperation Movement

On 23 March, 1921 Mahatma Gandhi reached Cuttack and addressed a meeting at Kathajori and appealed people to participate in the Non-Cooperation Movement. At evening, he addressed a meeting at Cuttack town. The ladies like Rama Devi, Sarala Devi, Sarojini Devi and many others attended the meeting. The Gandhian thought had appealed the women so much that they contributed their ornaments to the 'Tilak Swaraj Fund'. Surprisingly, the contribution of women to the Tilak Swaraj Fund was highest in the country. Further women also received training in preparing *Khadi*. Berhampur took a leading role in preparing Khadi and selling them in the market. Sambalpur also contributed a lot in weaving cloth. Picketing before the foreign cloth shops and liquor shops formed another part of the Movement where women participated and made it successful. Ofcourse the British Government suppressed this movement.

In his third visit to Orissa, Gandhiji came to Sambalpur with Kasturba and Debdas Gandhi. He addressed a meeting at Sambalpur organised by the women. Even the two daughters of Chandra Sekhar Behera a veteran freedom fighter donated their gold rings to Gandhiji. Gandhian Movement had gained momentum not only among the male freedom fighters of Orissa but also among their counterparts.

Women and Civil Disobedience Movement

During the Civil Disobedience Movement which started from 1930, women played a vital role in the preparation of salt at Inchudi of Balasore district. After the arrest of Gopabandhu Choudhury on 8th April 1930 near Chandol, Acharya Harihar marched to Inchudi. The arrival of Rama Devi with Malati Devi and Krishnabala Sen at Inchudi galvanised the Salt Satyagraha and made it more effective.

Meanwhile besides Inchudi other villages like Srijang, Rasalpur, Bardhanpur, Bhimpur, Tundra, Kuanrpur, Ratai, Boita, Parikhi, Kherang, Mandari etc. became centres for manufacturing salt. Rama Devi after her arrival at Inchudi went to Srijang. She persuaded the ladies of Srijang to come forward to manufacture salt. The local ladies agreed to the proposal. Around 1,500 women gathered in that area to see this novel endeavour. 60 women came with Rama Devi to take salt-soil and accomplished the task. The activity of Rama Devi gave moral boosting to the ladies of that locality. The Satyagrahis adopted a novel method in Balasore to manufacture salt. The ladies manufactured salt with other Satyagrahis. A Sátyagraha Committee was formed in Sambalpur and four batches of women Satyagrahis went to different parts of coastal Orissa to help the Salt-Satyagrahis. A batch of ten ladies with the leadership of Jambubati Devi in their went to Balasore district and reached Inchudi. Just after this Civil Disobedience Movement Rama Devi, Malati Devi, Kokila Devi along with Surendra Patnaik came to Srijang village of Balasore district to boost up the morale of the people of that area in the abolition of Choukidari tax. Rama Devi also influenced Pata Mahadei of Kujang to organise Congress activities. She inspired women to stage demonstrations against foreign clothes and organised picketing before liquor shops.

Women after Civil Disobedience Movement

With the end of Salt Satyagraha from 1934 to 1942, women of Orissa engaged themselves in various programmes of National Movement. The historic 'Padayatra' of Mahatma Gandhi in Orissa began on May 1934. The responsibility for its arrangements largely rested with the women. Gandhiji advised the women to fight against the evils of liquor, boycott of foreign cloth and untouchability. Rama Devi followed the instruction of Gandhiji and along with her husband she established an Ashram at Bari. Gandhiji named it as 'Sevaghar'. It undertook constructive work such as promotion of Khadi, service to Harijans, basic education, prohibition adult education, giving medicine to sick and eradication of untouchability and the like. Parbati Giri and Pravabati Devi were taken to this 'Sevaghar' by Jambubati Devi and Bhagirathi Patnaik of Barapali. The inmates of the Ashram like Rama Devi, Godabari Devi, Sushila Devi, Tulsi Devi, Annapurna Devi, Mangal Sengupta welcomed them and made them thorough in Gandhian programme. Gandhiji created 'Kasturba National Memorial Trust' and each state sent one representative to manage it. Rama Devi represented Orissa.

Role of Women in the Quit India Movement

The role of the women of Orissa in the Quit India Movement was significant. The British Government followed the policy of suppression of the arresting many Congress workers including the women. Rama Devi was arrested at Cuttack. Pravabati Devi and Parbati Giri were also arrested. Kaipada firing took place the gathering of the people who wanted to listen the fiary speech of Annapurna Maharana. The women workers of Orissa along with their male counterparts also dared arrests, convictions, lathi charge, imposition of fines, beating etc.

Writings of Women and Freedom Movement

Writings of women also inspired the spirit of the Orissan people in carrying on the freedom struggle. Sarala Devi wrote poems with a view to create political, social and national awareness among the people of Orissa. In her essays like 'Utkalare Nari Samasya', 'Nari Jagat', 'Nari Dabi', 'Nari Swadhinata' she wrote for the uplift of women. Kuntala Kumari Sabat's writings inflamed nationalism. Her famous poems included 'Anjali', 'Archana', 'Sphulinga', 'Ahwana' etc. Among other women writers of Orissa, Sita Devi Khadanga wrote a play named *Mandira Prabesha* which was based on the Harijan Movement of Gandhiji. Other women writers like Kalpalata Aparna Devi, Kanaka Manjari Devi, Harapriya Devi also enriched Oriya literature by their writings but these writings had less impact on the freedom struggle of Orissa.

Comprehensive list of Women Freedom Fighters of Orissa

The women who played vital role in the freedom struggle of Orissa were Rama Devi, Sarala Devi, Malati Devi. The commonest of common woman Pari Bewa also faced the police bullet at Eram. From undivided Balasore district participated women like Kokila Devi, Nirmala Devi, Janhabi Devi, Kshetramani Devi, Subhadra Mahtab, Sulochana Devi, Purubai, Kundalata Devi, Hemalata Devi, Gauri Devi, Krushnapriya Devi, Bishnupriya Devi. From Cuttack paticipated Kuntala Kumari Sabat, Rama Devi, Sarala Devi, Malati Devi, Kshetramani Devi, Kiranbala Sengupta, Priyambada Devi, Mangala Sengupta, Sashibala Kanungo, Sakuntala Devi, Adharamani Devi, Kiranlekha Mohanty, Ratnamali Jena, Bimala Dutta, Haramani Kanungo. From undivided Ganjam district participated Sobhabati Panda, Kishorimani Devi, Kundalata Devi, Champa Devi, Baralakshmi Devi, Hemalata Samanta, Suryama, Apurba Devi, P. Taramma, A. Laxmi Bai, T. Arahalu, T.V. Narayani, Sitadevi Khadanga, Malati Panda, Haramani Bisoi, Rasamani Devi. From undivided Koraput district participated Chitrabhanu Devi, Koyarani Bangara Devi, Budwal Devi, Khara Parbati. From undivided Puri district Saraswati Devi, Sunamani Devi, Radhamani Devi, Dhanamani Devi, Gunamanjari Devi, Nishamani Devi, Bimala Devi participated. From undivided Sambalpur district Jambhubati Devi, Pravabati Devi, Parbati Giri, Hiramani Devi and Rukmini Devi took part in the freedom struggle of Orissa.

Thus, women played a vital role in the freedom struggle in Orissa. By their hard work, support to their male counterparts and carrying out the Gandhian constructive programme, they contributed a lot to make the freedom struggle of Orissa a grand success. Their role in the freedom movement was in fact, very vital.

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Chapter–32

TRIBAL RELIGION

Orissa carves out a special position of her own in the ethnographic map of India for having the largest variety of tribal communities. Their religion is a little bit different from the religious life of others. Some beliefs they have borrowed from the Hindus but perform differently. That is why their religion is unique.

Sun God

Sun God or *Dharma Deota* is regarded as the supreme God of the tribes of Orissa. He is also known as *Sing Bonga* and by other names too to different tribes of Orissa. The tribals also regard him as the creator of thin earth who brought it from liquid to solid form.

Village Goddess

Grama Devati worship occupies special position in the religious life of the tribal people of Orissa. She is known differently by the tribes of Orissa. She is known as *Sama Burhi* among the Oraon, *Jahira Era* among the Santals and Mundas, *Thakurani Maa* among the Bhuyans and *Gramsiri* by the Juangs. She is generally represented by an wooden post or by stone and kept near the dormitory house. She is regarded as the protector of the village.

Mother Goddess

The tribals also worship Mother Goddess. She is known to them as *Dharani Penu, Dharani Mata, Basu Mata.* Many times she is regarded as the wife of the Sun God. She is regarded as the goddess of fertility. In the past the tribals of Orissa, particularly the Khonds resorted to *Merriah* or human sacrifice so that the land will be fertile and it will yield more.

Hill God

The tribals also attach great attention to the God of the hill. He is known as *Thanapati* by the Juangs. Since, the tribals put emphasis on *Podu Chasa* or shifting cultivation, they put much emphasis on the worship of this hill God who will grace them for more production and ensure their good living.

Spirits

The tribals of Orissa believe in spirits. The dead ancestors of the tribal people are regarded as benevolent spirits. They are popularly known as 'Pitruki'. As per belief, they live on the *Daala* portion of the house and keep constant watch over the activities of their descendants. On auspicious occasions, they are offered food. In several occasions such as marriage, change of village and the like they seek the permission of these unseen forefathers for the success in their work.

Hindu Gods and Goddesses

The tribals also worship Hindu Gods and Goddesses. They have gradually adopted ways to worship Hindu deities. God Siva and Goddess Parvati are also worshipped by the tribals of Orissa. They also worship Rama and Sita. Kali and Durga are also worshipped by them. With the march of time, the tribals of Orissa are adopting the Hindu deities more and more.

The Priest

For religious worship, the tribals depend on the priests. They are variously known as *Jani, Dehuri, Nagam, Majhibudha* and the like. Without them, the religious ceremonies cannot take place. They are indispensable for performing religious ceremonies for the tribals. The tribals believe that through them the Gods and Goddesses give message regarding the future production or calamities and so, the tribes become cautious about these unforeseen dangers.

Religious Festivals

The tribals perform several religious festivals. Those festivals are largely related with agriculture. As the tribals largely depend on shifting cultivation, they perform festivals related to land. The 'Pus Punei' is one such festivals. The 'Magha Jatra' takes place for increasing the fertility of the land. In the 'Chaitra Parab', the village youngmen and women dance and celebrate the occasion. Except marriage, the festivals of the tribes of Orissa are largely related to agriculture.

Mode of Worship

The mode of worship of the Gods and Goddesses followed by the tribes is very simple. At first, the priest sprinkles cow-dung-mixed water on the spot where the ritual is to be made. A circle is drawn by him with turmeric powder. He then puts vermilion inside the circle. Milk, molasses, liquor, cock, eggs are offered by him to the deities. Then the priest utters some words before the deities and seeks their blessings for the health, happiness, prosperity, bumper crops, diseaseless community and so on. Ofcourse, there are some variations in this mode of worship although by and large, it remains the same.

Belief in life after death

The tribals also believe in life after death. They generally take the dead body on a bier to a forest near the river. After the performance of the funeral ritual, fire is set to the dead body. In the next day, the funeral party again goes and throw the ashes and bones. They make an idol in clay and add the burnt scapula on it tied by a piece of thread with turmeric. After that the scapula is thrown into the river. The family members mourns for two days and they never take fish, meat, egg, oil and ghee. Then they throw the earthen pot or leaves used for these days. They then paste cow dung, soil and water on the floor and walls of the house. This funeral custom also has regional variations.

Spells and Charms

The tribals largely believe in spells and charms. The priests sometimes are magico-religious practitioners. They perform various practices to put an end to the epidemics and droughts. It is believed by the tribals that the priests can only know about the future by performing these practices and can cure diseases too. This superstition among the tribals have increased the rate of mortality in their community.

New Adoptions and role of religious heads

With the progress of time, the tribals have followed the Hindu religious traits. To cite an example, the Juangs consider God Siva and Goddess Parvati of Gonasik temple as supreme deities and bring things of offering including goat and sheep which are sacrificed there. 'Kamanda' is the religious specialist of the Juangs and 'Nagam' is the religious head of the village. Kamanda offers feasts to his fellow villagers on many auspicious occasions. Pradhan is the secular head of a Juang village and he cooperates the Kamanda in religious ceremonies. Besides Pradhan, other religious functionaries like 'Naik', 'Dangua' and 'Adhikari' take part in different religious functions. Similarly, other tribes are adopting Hindu cultural traits. However, the religious heads like 'Jani', 'Dehuri', 'Majhibudha' and the like play vital role in the religious functions of the tribes.

Thus conceived, the tribal people have many religious faiths and beliefs. Largely they believe in the worship of nature through different forms like earth, forest, hill, Sun etc. They also believe life after death and pay respect to their ancestors during every auspicious ceremonies. With the progress of time, the trials are gradually, adopting the Hindu Gods and Goddesses absorbing them to the tribal fold. This is definitely a pointer in the direction of the tribal religion.

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Chapter–33

THE BRAHMO MOVEMENT IN ORISSA

Raja Rammohan Roy, the 'Morning star of Indian Renaissance' was the founder of the Brahmo Samaj. It was instrumental in bringing a sea-change in the domain of religious reforms. The entry of Brahmo Movement to Orissa was responsed by the people of this land. However, it could not make much progress and left its marks in the annals of the religious history of Orissa.

Advent of the Movement in Orissa

The visit of Devendranath Tagore to Orissa in connection with the supervision of his estate was the stepping stone to the Brahmo Movement in this land. The Bengalis who were serving in Cuttack met him and were inspired by him for launching the Brahmo Movement in Orissa. In 1849, Mahesh Chandra Roy, a Munsiff of Cuttack laid the foundation of Brahmo Samaj in Cuttack. Thus in this way, the Brahmo Movement originated in Cuttack.

Brahmo Movement in Cuttack

With the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj by Mahesh Chandra Roy, the Brahmo Movement began in Cuttack. Jaganmohan Roy, the Deputy Magistrate of Cuttack came forward to champion the cause of this movement and gave his own house at Oriya Bazar for the functioning of the Brahmo Samaj. Now the Brahmo Samaj was named as the Cuttack Brahmo Samaj.

The great literary figures of Orissa like Gourishankar Roy and Jaganmohan Lala became its members. Since this organisation had only Bengali members, the early proceedings of this organisation were made in Bengali language. Soon the necessity of engulfing the Oriya followers to this faith was felt and the publication of Brahmo magazine in Oriya language was a natural corrolary to it. Thus, under the editorship of Trailokyanath Mukhopadhyay *Utkal Subhankri* was published in 1869. A Brahmo temple was constructed for regular prayers at Cuttack.

Now another Brahmo organisation on the model of Keshab Chandra Sen was founded in Cuttack under the active leadership of Harnath Bhattacharya. In due course of time Radhanath Roy, a notable poet joined with this organisation. The Cuttack Printing Company also extended a great help in publishing the books related to the Brahmo faith.

With the foundation of 'Prarthana Sabha' in 1883 at Manglabag, a new chapter was added to the Brahmo Movement in Cuttack. Many students of Cuttack town were attracted towards this organisation. On 6th July 1883, some students of Medical School at Cuttack established 'Prarthana Samaj'. Lalit Mohan Chakraverty became its secretary and Ramlal Dasgupta, its Joint Secretary. Meanwhile a Brahmo Samaj was founded at Chandnichouk in the residence of K.G. Gupta with ten members. Now the ladies who had accepted Brahmo faith came with other ladies of high society of Cuttack to attend the meeting.

The coming of Chaturbhuja Patnaik, a celebrated Brahmo from Balasore to Cuttack galvanised the Brahmo Movement in Cuttack. He assumed the post of Assistant Secretary of the Utkal Brahmo Samaj of Cuttack. As an Oriya translator he had unflagging zeal to write many articles for popularising the Brahmo Movement in Orissa. However, due to his difference with the members of the organisation he resigned from his post and formed another organisation named as 'Bidhan Samaj'. Under the leadership of Haradhan Ghosh, Govinda Chandra Ray, Bhusan Chandra Bhattacharya, Girish Chandra Mitra, Dinanath Banarjee, Siddheswar Bose, Sadhu Charan Ray, Bhagaban Chandra Singh, Jogesh Chandra Ray and many others of the Brahmo Movement gained momentum in Cuttack.

The joining of Pyari Mohan Acharya in this movement raised many eyebrows in Cuttack town. However, the joining of an orthodox Brahmin like Biswanath Kar in the Brahmo Samaj hammered the sentiment of the conservative Brahmins. Many Brahmo missionaries, from Bengal visited Cuttack. Aghomath Gupta, a famous Brahmoist visited Cuttack and his speech cast an impression on others. Similarly, the visit of Dinanath Neugi a member of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, Girish Chandra Sen of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and many others made the Brahmo Movement popular in Cuttack. Professor R. Venkataratnam of Madras came to Cuttack in January 1898. During his presence in meeting Madhusudan Das, Biswanath Kar, Rajmohan Basu and Reverend Belly delivered their speeches. The joining of Madhusudan Rao, the Deputy inspector of school accepted Brahmo Movement with some of his students. He gave his daughter to Bijay Kumar Mazumdar, a Bengali Brahmin and the marriage ceremony was performed as per the Brahmo tradition. Thus, Brahmo Movement made some progress in Cuttack.

Brahmo Movement in Balasore

Brahmo Movement had gained momentum in Balasore district in its early period. The visit of Isan Chandra Basu or Calcutta to Balasore in 1855 and his speech influenced the people of Balasore to be attracted towards the Brahmo faith. Fakir Mohan Senapati, a celebrated novelist discussed with him about this Brahmo faith. He also discussed with Prasanna Kumar Chatterjee, a clerk of the Nimak Mahal about the Brahmo faith. In 1869 a Brahmo Samaj was founded in October, 1869. Only four members named Damodar Prasad Das, Gobinda Prasad Das, Jayakrushna Choudhury and Bholanath Babu. Gradually, the members increased. The building of the king of Mayurbhanj named 'Raja Kotha' in the west Motiganj Bazar of Balasore was used for the prayer of the Brahmos. Many followers of the Brahmo faiths like Jagabandhu Ghosh, Pandit Ramkumar Vidyaratna, Aghomath Gupta, Dwijadas Datta, Nandalal Banerjee, Gobinda Chandra Pattnaik, Ramanath Das, Kalindi Kamila and many others championed the cause of Brahmo Movement in Orissa. In May, 1874 a periodical named *Dharmabodhini* was published from Balasore.

In due course of time, several Brahmo preachers visited Balasore. Among them very famous were Kunja Bihari De and Madhusudan Rao. Brahmo centres were established in and around Balasore at different places like Manikhamb, Nabagram, Amara, Sorishakotha, Sindhia and Bhimadia. The celebrated Brahmo activists like Bhagaban Chandra Das and Nandalal Banerjee contributed a lot for the spread of Brahmo Movement in Balasore district. In Bhadrak, Soro and Bahanaga, the Brahmo Movement also made some progress.

Brahmo Movement in Puri

The Brahmo Movement also found some adherants in Puri town. Prasanna Kumar Ganguli was founded a Brahmo Samaj at Puri in 1866, the year of the great Naanka famine. It had gathered seventeen or eighteen members. Ramkumar Bhattacharya, a Brahmo preacher visited Puri and delivered his speech. This inspired the people of Puri who founded Brahmo Samaj in many places at Puri. The Nilachal Brahmo Samaj was established at Puri town and Narendra Nath Sarkar became its Secretary. Thus, Brahmo Movement did not spread too fast in Puri.

Brahmo Movement in Ganjam

The Brahmo Movement also spread to Ganjam. The Prarthana Samaj was established at Ganjam. Further, another Prarthana Samaj was established at Paralakhemundi. It was instrumental in spreading Brahmo idea in that region. Infact, in comparison to Puri, Ganjam had made some progress in championing the cause of Brahmo faith.

Brahmo Movement in the Feudatory States

The Brahmo Movement also spread in the feudatory states of Orissa. Damodar Samanta founded Brahmo Samaj at Dalar village in Dhenkanal. Nandalal Bandopadhyaya preached Brahmo faith in Dhenkanal, Talcher, Angul, Pallahara and Sambalpur. Madhusudan Rao, Rajmohan Basu, Nandalal Bandopadhyaya and Biswanath Kar visited Sambalpur for the spread of Brahmo faith. Aghomath Gupta preached Brahmo faith in Mayurbhanj. In this way, the Brahmo Movement found its way to the feudatory states of Orissa.

Achievements of the Brahmo Movement

The Brahmo Movement played vital role in many spheres. At first, it helped in the spread of education in Orissa. Pyari Mohan Acharya established 'Cuttack Academy' which later on became 'Pyari Mohan Academy'. Madhusudan Rao, a noted Brahmoist founded the Town Victoria High School. The ladies of Cuttack who were the followers of Brahmo faith had founded a school named Sunday School. Thus, the Brahmo Movement helped a lot in the spread of modern education in Orissa.

Secondly, in the field of literature the Brahmo Movement did tremendous job. Chaturbhuja Patnaik wrote books like *Tatvamala, Bhajanamala, Future Church* etc. The books of Madhusudan Rao like *Sangeetamala, Jeevanachinta, Atmasamarpana, Nababasanta, Staba* etc. were immortal creating in Oriya literature.

Thirdly, the Brahmo Movement educated the ladies of Orissa and made them more progressive. By attending different meetings of the Brahmo Samaj they learnt many things. They became educated and progressive. Thus female education was encouraged in Orissa.

Fourthly, the Brahmo Movement galvanised journalism in Orissa. The news of the Brahmo Samaj were published in different periodicals from time to time. The periodicals like *Utkala Subhankari, Dharmabodhini, Asha, Brahmo* etc. published the news of the Brahmo Samaj and thus journalism progressed a lot in Orissa.

Finally, the Brahmo Movement brought some social reforms. It put a question mark on untouchability. It gave an alternative thought against the existing religious faiths. It tried to bring social consciousness among the people.

Failure of the Brahmo Movement in Orissa

The Brahmo Movement in Orissa failed due to several reasons. At first, it could not attract the common men. It is only because, the persons who were in the helm of affairs belonged to the higher and middle class. They could not appeal to the mass to come to the same forum and to mix with them. That is why it was alienated from the mass.

Secondly, the orthodox section of the Hindus did not like this movement. They thought that this Brahmo dharma will invade their religion. So, they wanted to oppose it silently. They did not allow their family men to come in contact with the Brahmoes. They considered that the Brahmoes are the Christians in disguise.

Thirdly, the young mass took active part in politics. They did not want to come to the fold of religion. So, the tempo of Brahmo Movement got a halt.

Finally, persons who joined this movement were socially ostracised. So, others did not want to keep relation with them. At last so happened that some persons have to leave the Brahmo dharma.

Thus, the Brahmo movement was a novel experiment of religion in a changing scenario. It came forward to wipe out the dogmas of Orissan society. It was largely confind to the higher class and middle class. So it was alienated from the mass and in due course of time, lost its importance in Orissa.

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Chapter–34

SOCIAL REFORMS IN ORISSA DURING THE BRITISH RULE

Superstitious prevailed in Orissan society in the Nineteenth century. Those included the practice of Sati, mariah or human sacrifice and infanticide. The system of Sati was confined to the royal families belonging to high caste Hindus. The tribals followed the practice of human sacrifice and infanticide. Thugee was yet a crime which entered into Orissan society. The British Government took steps to curb out these inhuman practices in Orissa.

SATI

'Sati' is a woman who immolates herself in the funeral pyre of her husband. The origin of Sati system in Orissa is obscure. However, it is presumed that this cruel practice had its beginning in the 12th century A.D. Ofcourse, Sarala Dasa in his Oriya *Mahabharat* has described about this system. The earliest reference to Sati in Orissa was reported in the Princely States of Hindol where the wives of six brothers and the wife of Sardar Dhanurjay Samal became Sati. The 'Sati stone' and the place 'Satigarbha' at Rayagada testify to the fact that after the death of the king, his wives and mistresses had committed Sati. Thus Sati system was common in the royal families of Orissa. With the progress of time, number of Sati increased in Orissa. Under this practice, the woman who was to be 'Sati' was administered opium to be intoxicated and she was to be burnt with the funeral pyre of her husband. Among the Jogi tribes of Orissa, this Sati was prevalent in a different from when the lady was buried alongwith her deceased husband. The Brahmins encouraged this practice because they had to get the ornaments of the lady. The zamindars also encouraged this system, because they had to get a portion of the property of the Sati who was without a child. Ofcourse, the British administrators in Orissa tried to discourage this system but they could not abolish it.

During the period of Lord William Bentinck on 4 December 1829, a Regulation was passed by Governor-General in council which declared Sati (burning-burying alive the widows of Hindu) illegal. On 2 February, 1830 Stephen Rumbold Lushington, the Governor of Madras passed this law in Madras. Although Sati was declared illegal in 1839, it occured in the feudatory states of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. The Bengal Government knew about it through its intelligence department and ordered the superintendents of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa to frame some rules to check Sati system. The Government of India also directed the Tributary Mahals to do the needful in this direction. Accordingly, the Rajas of the tributary states of Orissa were given instruction to desist from such inhuman practice.

Inspite the Government instruction, Sati took place in the state of Khandapara on 25 January, 1842 when the two queens and slave girls committed Sati in the funeral pyre of the king. Magistrate A.J.M. Mills tried the case and recommended to the Government of Bengal to award punishment to the guilty persons in this crime and they were punished. This exerted fear in the mind of the kings of Tributary states. From 1842, Sati was not to be seen in Orissa.

THUGEE

Thugee was another evil practice which entered into the feudatory states of Orissa. The word 'Thug' has been derived from the Sanskrit word 'Thugna' means 'to cheat'. The Thugs looted the people in many ways. During the period of Lord William Bentinck, Colonel Sleeman had suppressed the Thugs.

In 1832 the Thugs entered into the Feudatory States of Orissa. In the States of Ranapur and Nayagarh, they made their position strong. They influenced the boys down from twenty years to twelve and painted roasy dreams in their mind that without labour they had to lead a happy and prosperous life by looting the wealth of others. No doubt, these Thugs availed the patronage of the royal families. They created fear psychosis in the mind of the people.

The Thugs became constant headache for the British administration in Orissa. They employed spies to get information regarding the Thugs. In 1839, Ewart, the Collector of Cuttack went to Ranpur and knew that Sham Pittei was the head *Sardar* of the Thugs. He reported this to Sadar Nizamat Adalat which declared Rs.500/– as rewards for the capitulation of Sham Pittei. Meanwhile Captain Vallancy suggested steps like the ban of entry of the Thugs to the Feudatory States, removal of the family of Thugs from the place of their settlements and the village *Sarbarakars* to inform the activities of the Thugs to suppress them. A.J.M. Mills suggested the Magistrate of Khurda to work upon the recommendation of Captain Vallancy and he started his operation to put an end to the Thugee system in Orissa.

In 1840 the Rajas of Ranpur and Khurda were contacted and given assurance for putting an end to the Thugs. For effective implementation of the plan, police outposts were opened in the rural areas. Being fearful, the Thugs left their profession and led normal life. Without any hindrance, the British Government was able to suppress the Thugs in Orissa.

MERIAH

Human sacrifice or Meriah was a cruel practice prevalent among the tribals of Orissa and mainly among the Khonds. The word 'Meriah' was derived from the Khond word 'Mervi' which again was derived from 'Mirvi Pennu', the Goddess of Khonds. Later on in Oriya it was known as 'Meriah'. This ugly practice prevailed in a wide Khond-dominated areas of Ghumsar, Baud, Daspalla, Chinna Kimedy, Patna, Kalahandi, Maji Deso and Jeypore. Human sacrifice prevailed among the Khonds, Santhals, Bhulyas and Kolhas. It was largely practised by the Khonds.

The origin of the Meriah sacrifice is very peculiar. The Khonds consider *Tari Penu* or Goddess Earth as their supreme God. She was the symbol of productivity. So, the Khonds took every care to satisfy it. As per the saying when there was no yield, the Earth Goddess was prayed and she was pleased by the worship. So she told "Let human blood be split before me". A child was sacrificed. Then she became much pleased and declared 'men should repeat this rite and live'. Right from that hoary past, the Khonds practised this inhuman sacrifice.

The causes of the Meriah sacrifice were not too far to seek. It was made to make Khond society to increase the fertility of the soil. Secondly, the Khonds considered that due to this sacrifice turmeric cultivation will be more which will sustain their livelihood. Thirdly, for the grant of favourable season and crops, this sacrifice was made. Lastly, this sacrifice was made to free the society from diseases and epidemics.

The victims of such human sacrifices might be of any age, sex or caste except a Brahmin or Khond. Generally the victims for human sacrifice were poor and low caste Hindus like the Pans, Dams and Haris. The Goddess was pleased to accept the Meriah who was purchased or the sons or daughters of the born victim father or mother. Generally, the agents like the Pans and Haris were employed by the Khonds to procure Meriah and they purchased him or her from the coastal plain but most of the time, they kidnapped such persons and sold them to the Khonds.

The modes of human sacrifice differed from place to place. Generally twelve days before the sacrifice, the hairs of the victim were cut off. One day before the sacrifice he was dressed with new garments and taken to the village where whatever he liked to eat or drink was to be given to him including sex with any woman he desired. On the next day the victim was taken to the near by forest adjacent to the village. He is anointed with ghee, oil, turmeric and adorned with flowers. The Khonds then leave him there tieing him with ropeing wooden post for the satisfaction of the Mother Goddess to see the Meriah. They prayed that they were giving the best Meriah to her for giving more crops to them. On the next day they come and after the priest cuts the body of the Meriah gently, others cut his flesh living the portion from neck to head. In many places, the Meriah was left in the fields. The drunken Khonds killed him through their knife. In Chinna Kimedy region, an wooden elephant was fixed on the top of a stout post and it was made to revolve. The victim was fastened to the proboscis of this elephant. After the signal of the priests, the crowd rushed in, seized the Meriah and cut off his flesh with their knives. Thus, in these ways the Meriah was sacrificed.

The Meriah sacrifice was detected in 1836 by the British officers who came to put down Ghumsar uprising during 1935-1937. G.E. Russel of Madras Civil Service who was in charge of suppressing the uprising reported this inhuman practice. Although the British Government tried to woos the Khonds through moral influence, it failed stupendously. Then John Campbell, the Principal Assistant of G.E. Russel took steps to curb out this filthy practice. By adopting coercive measures and awarding condime punishment, Campbell stopped this cruel practice at Ghumsar in 1842. The *Meriah Agency* was established in 1845 and Captain S.C. Macpherson joined there as an agent. He was succeeded by John Campbell who took thirteen years to suppress it. The following table shows how the Meriahs were rescued from different places.

Places of rescue	**Males**	**Females**	**Total**
Ghumsar	101	122	223
Boud	181	164	345
Chinna Kimedy	313	353	666
Jeypore	77	116	193
Kalahandi	43	34	77
Patna	2	—	2
Total	**717**	**789**	**1506**

Thus by 1861, the Meriah sacrifice was completely curbed out. Colonel Campbell put an end to this practice by his efforts.

INFANTICIDE

Another inhuman sacrifice prevalent in Orissa was infanticide. The birth of a child is regarded as auspicious. However the birth of a girl child was regarded inauspicious in some communities. It prevailed among some sections of Khonds of Surada, Pedda Kimedi, Chinna Kimedi, Ghumsar-Malihas and Boudh-Khondmal. Male child was rarely sacrificed for satisfying *Boora Penu* (Sun God) and *Tari Penu* (Goddess Earth). The British Government took steps to curb out this filthy social practice.

The reason for the practice of this inhuman sacrifice was largely due to poor economic condition of the Khonds. Major Macpherson rightly points out that the birth of a girl child in the Khond society was a curse. When married, a Khond had to pay his in-laws a 'bride price' of Rs.60/– or Rs.70/–. When the Khond wife left her husband, her father had to return money what he had accepted from his son-in-law. That is why, the birth of a girl child was not regarded auspicious.

The origin of the infanticide is peculiar. As per the story, one Donka Mallika had four sons. The three sons had eight sons each and the fourth one had no son but two daughters. The daughters could not find their husband and cohabited with their cousins. A punishment was awarded to the father of two daughters and he could not get any ancestral property. So the girls, out of shame, jumped into a tank called 'Redha Bandh' and breathed their last. After this incident, the four brothers reconciled with their father. From that day, the birth of a girl child was declared inauspicious in the Khond community and female infanticide took place. Further, the Khonds believe that the soul returns to a Khond family in animate human form where it is first born. If the name- giving ceremony is complete, it will reside in the family. If prior to that it is killed, no girl child can take birth in a family. Still further, the Khonds believe in astrology. If after the birth a *Jani* or *Dessari* tell that the birth of a baby is inauspicious, he or she it is to be killed. Still furthermore, the *Janis* advise not to give a daughter to an inferior men and it is really difficult to get always superior man for the marriage of a daughter. These superstitions led infanticide among the Khonds.

There were different modes of infanticide. In one method, the living infant is kept in a new earthen vessel. Its mouth was to be closed with a lid on which a small quantity of rice or food or flower is placed. Then it is buried. In some places a cloth was wraped on the pot. In that place a foul was sacrificed. In another method, opium was administered in the mouth of a baby allowing her to death silently. Further, after the birth, the mouth of the child filled up with cow dung or her head is immersed in cow milk. Thus, in many ways, a female was killed with her birth.

In fact, during the Ghumsar rising of 1835-37, G.E. Russel brought it to lime light. Campbell also took steps to suppress the Khonds in pursuing the female infanticide. He surveyed the village and the police men entered village to create fear psychosis in the mind of the people. Thus the female infanticide was checked in Orissa and in 1856, Lord Dalhousie declared with satisfaction that infanticide had been curbed out from India.

Thus, the British Government took steps for checking Sati, Meriah, Thugee and Infanticide in Orissa. Not only these evils were wiped out from the Orissan society but Orissan society was reformed for allowing widows to remarry, stopping child-marriage, imparting education to women and so on. The reformative zeal of the British Government exhibited in Orissa was certainly commendable.

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Chapter–35

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THEIR ACTIVITIES IN ORISSA

It had been rightly remarked that 'the British entered into India with a Bible and a pistol inside'. Right from the entry of the British, they tried to spread Christianity in India. Orissa was not an exception to it. The early attempt to spread Christianity in this land by Charles Grant, Henry Thornton, Parry, Zachary, Maçauley and others got a set back when the Great Revolt of 1857 began and the British Government did not allow missionary activities in India. However, the Evangelical Movement in England and the pressure exerted on the British Government in India galvanised the missionary activities in the land.

Beginning of Missionary activities in Orissa

On 12 February 1822 Messers Bampton and James Peggs reached coastal Orissa. From Cuttack, they started their mission. Soon Bampton was sent to Puri where he started his activities and later on, A. Sutton and Lacey joined with him. Although these missionaries worked in northern and southern Orissa with hostile climate unsuitable to them, they were frustrated in their mission.

Early work

On 23 March 1828, the Christian missionaries were successful for the first time when they converted a Brahmin named Gangadhar Sarangi into Christianity and later on appointed him as a preacher of Christianity by paying Rs.7/– per month. Then Ramachandra from Cuttack was Baptised. Sebu Naik, Damodar, Dinabandhu, Bhikari and many others were converted to Christianity. The missionaries thought that they have became quite successful in their mission and they would easily spread Christianity in Orissa.

Missionaries and Jagannath temple

The Baptist Missionary Society thought that they should start their activities against the Hindus from the place of Jagannath who occupies their body, mind and soul. W.W. Hunter observes, "Here is the national temple where the people flock to worship from every province of India". During Ratha Yatra, they distributed pamphlets and preached against idolatry. However, they were markedly unsuccessful in their mission.

Change in attitude

The Christian missionaries realised that they should not be harsh and hard in the matter of Jagannath. They turned their attention towards the careful up-bringing of the converts. Special attention was given to the food and dress of the converts. The caste system which dominated the Hindu society was to be changed. The marriage of a Hindu widower with a tribal girl brought a new change in the society. In 1833, as James Peggs states, the marriage between Madhava and the daughter of Krupasindhu belonging to a low caste had brought a new transformation in the society. The missionaries taught the converts virtues like honesty, benevolence, decency, truth and chastity.

Spread of Education

The Christian missionaries took steps in the spread of education in Orissa. They founded the first native school at Cuttack in May 1822. During 1822 and 1823, 15 native schools were established in and around Cuttack which enrolled 305 boys and 63 girls. At Balasore, Puri, Angul, Berhampur many missionary schools were opened. The missionaries ventured to teach the Christian, Non-Christian and tribal girls. The first 'Zenana School' was opened at Balasore in 1869. Thus, the backwardness in the Orissan society was removed with the attempt of the Christian missionaries of Orissa.

Development of Oriya Press and Literature

The Christian missionaries were instrumental for the growth of press and literature in Orissa. They established a printing press at Cuttack in 1838. The first Oriya journal titled *Jnanaruna* was published by their efforts. Large number of Oriya books were printed by these missionaries for vernacular schools. Reverent A. Sutton took steps for the printing of Oriya books and the Oriya version of Bible. Infact by their efforts they opened way for the growth of Oriya language and literature in this land. Fakir Mohan Senapati was quite inspired to establish a press in Balasore and published books and journals in Oriya. Infact, for the growth of Oriya language and literature, the efforts of the Christian missionaries were commendable. The missionaries published several books for school children as well as for public. The *New Testament* was translated into Oriya in 1809 under the patronage of Carey of the Serampur Baptist Society. Sutton composed *Oriya Grammar* in 1831, *History* in 1839 and *Geography* in 1840. The Calcutta School Books Society published Sutton's *Oriya Primer* and *Oriya Dictionary* in 1843. The first Oriya story book titled *Phulamani Karuna* was published in 1857 written by Reverend Stybbin. Besides *Jnanaruna*, they also published *Arunodaya*, *Prabodha Chandrika*, *Sandhya*, *Prabhata*, *Aloka*, *Prabha* etc.

Philanthropic activities

The Christian missionaries opened new vistas in the philanthropic activities in Orissa. They opened several orphanages for the poor and destitute boys and girls of

Orissa. Those boys and girls were not only provided with food and shelter but also received education which would help them to stand in their own leg and to get good job in different spheres.

Fight against social evils

The Christian missionaries fought against the social evils prevalent among the Khonds. They raised voice against the Meriah sacrifice. They rescued the Meriahs and took them to the orphanages. 'Meriah Schools' were opened to teach and educate such students. Missionaries like Mr. and Mrs. Stubbins, Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson and others did commendable job for the Khonds. The Bible was translated into Kui language and the Khonds were able to read it. These activities helped a lot to the Khonds to change their mind. They also put a check to infanticide. They rescued many infants and left them in orphanages. They also took steps for the eradication of Sati. They kept constant watch over a particular region and discouraged Sati creating fear in the mind of the offenders that they would be given punishment by the local authorities.

They also prohibited the people restraining them to die under the wheels of the car of God Jagannath. They also fought against the caste system. They told that all the people are the brothers and sisters as they are the sons and daughters of one God. They vehemently opposed the predominance of the Brahmins in the society. The caste prejudice in the Hindu society was undermined. This gave a new insight to the educated people to look into the society. The caste rigidity which was dominating the Orissan society changed and the people realised the severity of this caste system and tried to be flexible.

Medical Service

The missionaries were pioneers in giving western medical facilities to the people of Orissa. Many missionary hospitals were opened in different parts of Orissa. At Balasore and Jaleswar missionary hospitals were opened. A Lepers' Asylum was opened at Jeypore. Dr. Nina Ottman started a Zenana hospital at Berhampur in 1905. The Roman Catholics many hospitals like Nirmala Health Centre at Aligonda, Infant Health Centre at Berhampur, Sacred Health Dispensary at Gopalpur, Asa Health Centre at Muniguda, M.V. Dispensary at Surara etc. Old age Homes were established at Gopalpur and Berhampur. 6 hospitals and 14 dispensaries were established under Rourkela diocese. They established 2 hospitals and 6 dispensaries at Balasore, 10 hospitals under Cuttack-Bhubaneswar diocese. Sambalpur diocese had the privilege to have 2 hospitals and 6 dispensaries. The use of chloroform for surgical operation was a novelty of these Christian missionaries which attracted the people of Orissa.

Role during famines

The missionaries played a vital role during the famines of Orissa. The Baptist missionaries took active part in organising relief measures during the great famine of 1866. The role of Father Sapart in Balasore and that of Father Perison in Cuttack and Berhampur in rescuing the abandoned and orphaned children were commendable. For these works, the Christian missionaries were admired by the people of Orissa.

Attack on Jagannath Temple

The Christian missionaries were very much critic about the Jagannath temple at Puri. They vehemently opposed the Government policies of managing the temple, collecting pilgrim tax and the idol worship inside the temple. They went on writing articles and publishing books, opposing the car festivals, rituals and practices which prevailed inside the Jagannath temple of Puri. Due to their effort, the British Government shivered its relation with the temple of Jagannath in 1856.

Missionary activities in Garjat states

The missionaries not only limited their activities in coastal area and hill tracts. They also extended their activities to the feudatory states of Orissa. Ganjam became a golden centre of Christian activities. James Peggs visited Ganjam and carried on missionary activities their. Krishna Chandra Bhanja, the king of Mayurbhanj donated 16 square miles of jungle and waste lands for the Catholic missionaries to carry on their philanthropic activities. The Catholic Mission at Mayurbhanj became a mile stone in the field of missionary activities in Orissa. Further, the kings of Nilgiri and Athagarh actively cooperated the Christian missionaries for carrying on their activities in these places.

Results of the Christian Mission

The missionary activities in Orissa produced certain results. The introduction of secular education, printing of books and journals, medical service, orphanage and old age home facilities, voice against the dogmas prevalent in Hindu society– all these works of the Christian missionaries made the educated people of Orissa conscious. This made the appearance of Mahima Dharma in due course of time which eradicated idolatry and casteism.

Thus, the Christian missionaries had started their mission in Orissa with noble aim. They did tremendous job by eradicating caste rigidity from Orissan society. In the field of social reforms, they raised their voice against Sati, infanticide and human sacrifice. The establishment of press and publication of journals and books were other contributions of the missionaries for the growth of press and journalism in Orissa. Their philanthropic activities like creation of orphanages and taking care of the destitutes infact satiated the maxim of Christianity, "Service to mankind is service to God."

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Chapter–36

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN ORISSA DURING NINETEENTH AND FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

One of the lasting impact of the British rule in Orissa was the introduction of English education in the land. This attempt of the British put Orissa on the path of modernisation. Infact it was a landmark in the history of modern education of Orissa.

Education of Orissa in Pre-British Period

Before the British occupation of Orissa education was managed by private people. The school (*Pathasala*) ran in temples, Bhagavat Tungis and in the house of some rich men. The *Avadhanas* (teachers) put emphasis on reading, writing and working out simple mathematics. The Oriya literature was taught to the pupils including the *Bhagavata* of Jagannatha Dasa. There was no Oriya school managed by the Kings of Orissa by that time. Thus, education in the Pre-British period was quite frustrating in Orissa.

Causes of the spread of English Education

The causes of the growth of English education were not too far to seek. At first, the East India Company was apathetic to the growth of English education in Orissa. But they realised that if the people will not be well conversent with English, their work will hamper. So they took interest for the growth of English education in Orissa.

Secondly, Charles Grant, the member of the British Parliament and Lord Minto, the Governor-General took keen interest for the spread of English education among the Indians who will understand the British administration and will help the officials in discharging their duties.

Thirdly, the Christian missionaries wanted to spread of English education in Orissa. In the spirit of evangelization, they wanted to uplift the Orissan people through the spread of education. English education they wanted to spread among the people of Orissa.

Fourthly, the appointment of the Oriyas in the Government service would be beneficial to them because they would get very less salary in comparison to all.

Finally, the need of educated elites to help the British administration was a need of the time. It was true for all the provinces of India. Orissa was not an exception to it.

Macauley's Minutes (1835)

In 1835 Lord Thomas Macauley, the President of the General Committee of Public instruction and Law Member of the Governor-General's Council prepared his Minute. After much trial of strength between the Occidentalists and the Orientalists, English was accepted the medium to impart Europeam knowledge to the people of India. After that the British took steps to open English Schools in Orissa. Before that the Christian missionaries had established English medium schools. In 1836, the British opened the first English School at Puri. Although the Cuttack English School was established in 1823-24 by the Christian missionaries, its management was transferred to the Government in 1836. That is why Cuttack Missionary School became popular and Puri English School was closed after two years of its inception. In 1853 Government founded an English School at Balasore and restored the Puri School. Subsequently Zilla Schools were established at Balasore, Puri and Cuttack to create a class of English-educated people to help in the work of the Orissa Government.

Wood's Despatch (1854)

1859 Dalhose

In 1854 during the Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentinck Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control drafted a scheme which became famous as Wood's Despatch. It became the 'Magnacarta' in the history of English sysem of education in India. It recommended for the opening of new schools and for retain old schools. Accordingly, another Zilla School was established at Berhampur in 1855. 1855

Spread of Vernacular Education

As a part of the Wood's Despatch, Zilla School at Sambalpur assumed the status of the Anglo-Vernacular School. The policy of placing Middle English School in a vernacular basis helped the Oriyas for the spread of English Education. Thomas Erric Ravenshaw looked after the 832 Pathasalas or indigenous village schools. Thus it galvanised the process of the growth of primary education in Orissa. Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati gave impetus for the spread of Primary education in Orissa and so by 1947 the number of primary schools increased to 6998.

Secondary Education

Secondary education also received a fresh impetus by the Wood's Despatch. The Middle Vernacular Schools, Middle English Schools and High Schools were there to help in the spread of education. In the Middle Vernacular School, English was not compulsory subject for study. The Middle Vernacular Schools added two years of education after upper primary stage. In the Middle English School, English was a compulsory subject in the curriculum. M.E. School also had four years of courses of study. High Schools also provided four years of courses of study after the M.E. School. Accordingly, private High Schools were established at Cuttack. The Pyari Mohan Academy which began as a M.E. School in 1875 assumed the status of a High School in 1879. The Victoria School at Cuttack also assumed the status of a High School in 1888. By the end of Nineteenth century there were 12 High Schools and 82 M.E. Schools in North Orissa and 4 High Schools and 26 M.E. Schools in South Orissa.

The Hunter Commission

When Lord Ripon was the Viceroy of India, he appointed a commission known as the Hunter Commission after the name of W.W. Hunter in 1882. As per its recommendation, private schools and colleges were opened in different towns of Orissa. In the full tide of the effort for amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts, Pandit Gopabandhu Das established Satyavadi Vanavidyalaya at Sakshigopal in 1909. The *Panchasakhas* of modern Orissa like Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Acharya Harihara, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Pandit Godavarish Mishra and Pandit Krupasindhu Mishra took over the charge of this school for the better future of the students. The creation of Orissa as a separate province created an urge in the mind of the leaders of Orissa for galvanising education in Orissa. By 1947 there were 42 High Schools and 261 M.E. Schools.

Higher Education

With the establishment of Ravenshaw College in 1868 began a new era in the field of higher education in Orissa. In 1968, the Cuttack Zilla School was converted into Collegiate School with the opening of F.A. (First Arts) class only having facility for teaching of Intermediate standard. By the recommendation of T.E. Ravenshaw, it was converted to a Degree College. In 1878 Maharaja Krushna Chandra Bhanja donated Rs.20,000/– for the construction of a new college building. Till 1878, Ravenshaw College was the only college in Orissa which imparted higher education.

In 1978, Berhampur Zilla School was converted into a collegiate School with the addition of F.A. classes. By the recommendation of Hunter Commission, privatization was encouraged and that school became Berhampur Native College and in 1893 it became Khallikote College when Raja Harihar Mardaraj Dev granted land for it. In 1896 another college was established at Parlakhemundi by Maharaja Gourachandra Dev. It was a Junior (Second Grade) college till 1936. In 1937 it was upgraded. S.B. Women's College was also established at Cuttack.

Till 1946, there were only 7 reputed colleges in Orissa– Ravenshaw College, Cuttack; Khallikote College, Berhampur; S.K.C.G. College, Parlakhemundi; S.B. Women's College, Cuttack; G.M. College, Sambalpur and S.C.S. College, Puri and F.M. College, Balasore. Besides these college one Training College had been established at Cuttack which latter on became famous as Radha Nath Training College. All these colleges imparted higher education in Orissa.

Technical Education

Technical education was given vent by the British administrators in Orissa. In 1923, the Orissa School of Engineering was opened at Cuttack which is now the Bhubanananda Engineering School. The Boys' Industrial School at Balasore was started in Balasore by the American Baptist Mission and education was imparted in carpentry, book-binding, cane work, painting, cement work etc. Two weaving institutes were opened at Sambalpur and

Cuttack. The Orissa Medical School was established in 1876 which worked with galvanising effect from 1917 which is recognised as the S.C.B. Medical College and Hospital. The Sanskrit tols (schools) offered *Prathama* and *Madhyama* studies. Some special schools were established. 35 special schools for Panas and 19 schools for Gondas were established at Angul and Sambalpur in 1917. Later on a training college to impart the process of teaching was established at Cuttack, which later on became Radha Nath Training College.

Attitude of British Government towards Education

During the British rule education did not progress rapidly. Several factors were responsible for that. First, the British was quite apathetic towards the spread of higher education in Orissa. Although it wanted that the people of Orissa should learn English, but it never wanted to make them highly educated. It simply wanted a working knowledge of English only to serve near them mostly in clerical posts.

Secondly, higher education was also expensive. The British Government never wanted to spend more on education. When in 1858, Madras and Calcutta had Universities, Orissa did not have a single college by that time.

Thirdly, the number of schools and colleges in Orissa was quite insufficient. So the rise of elite became delayed in this land.

Fourthly, the conservativism of the people of Orissa was exploited by the British. So, they did not encourage the English education in Orissa.

Finally, the British did not encourage the Engineering education particularly related to agriculture although Orissa was a land having agriculture as the chief profession of the people. Out and out, the British discouraged the higher education in Orissa.

Thus, English education in Orissa did not progress quite well due to the lack of the British initiative. However, with the end of the British rule in Orissa, English education grew in this land. The medical, technological and general education was given vent and the growth of educational institutions galvanised the progress of education in Orissa.

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Chapter–37

TRIBAL UPRISING AGAINST THE BRITISH IN ORISSA

The tribal uprising in Orissa in the anti-colonial set up offers an interesting study. The British policy of intervention in their religion, social reforms introduced by them. The missionary activities carried on massively in different tribal area and steps taken against their ruler largely contributed to the tribal uprising. The Ghumsar uprising under the leadership of Dora Bissoi and Chakra Bissoi, Keonjhar uprising under the leadership of Ratna Nayak and Dharanidhar Nayak and the Munda rebellion under the leadership of Birsa Munda are some of the important tribal uprisings of Orissa against the British authority.

GHUMSAR UPRISING UNDER DORA BISSOI

Ghumsar was ruled by the Madras authority. The British did not pay proper attention for the administration of Ghumsar. In due course of time, the tribals of Ghumsar led by Dora Bissoi rose against the British authority.

Causes

The causes of the Ghumsar uprising were many. First, the suppression of *Meriah* in the Khond-dominated area of Ghumsar was a direct invasion of British on the traditional religious faith of the Khonds. Added to it was the activities of the Christian missionaries which annoyed the Khonds and made them rebellious.

Secondly, the land revenue upto the tune of 50% collected from the people through coercive method wounded their sentiment. So, they became angry and wanted to have a show down with the British.

Thirdly, the Bhanja rulers of Ghumsar had no cordial term with the British. Being fearful to be captured by the British, Dhananjay Bhanja the ruler of Ghumsar fled to the jungle and sought the help of the Khonds. The Khonds wanted to help him as he was their chieftain.

Finally, the dissolution of the Bhanja ruling family after the death of Dhananjay Bhanja in 1835 created circumstance for the rebellion. After his death, Brundaban Bhanja, his illegitimate child and Jagannath Bhanja, another member of the royal family became rebellious. They were supported by Dora Bissoi, the tribal chief of the Khonds.

Emergence of Dora Bissoi

Kamal Lochan Dora Bissoi was a Benniah Khond born in the village Binjigiri, located near Kullada of the lower Ghumsar area. He was a 'Maliah Bisoi' or 'Head Agent' of the Khonds of Ghumsar area. He was a sword-fighter par excellence and a wrestler of high quality. That is why he became the leader of the Khonds and 'Agent of Khond affairs' to the king of Ghumsar. That is why, he was appointed as the Commander-in-chief of the army of Ghumsar. He well managed the military affairs of the state. He could give a top fight to the British authority.

British steps to quell the rebellion

The Madras Presidency sent George Edward Russel to quell. Dhananjay Bhanja who had left Ghumsar and taken asylum with the Khonds. It is believed that instead of paying revenue to the British Government, he had taken sufficient amount of money with him to continue the disturbance in association with the Khonds. Russel reached Ghumsar on 11 January 1836. Although he had a grand army with him, still then, the Government of India had ordered the superintendents of the Tributary Mahals to render habitual help to Russel in this matter.

Planning of Dora Bissoi

Meanwhile Raja Dhananjay Bhanja died on 31 December, 1835 leaving his family to the care of the Khonds. Brundaban Bhanja, Jagannath Bhanja, Madhu Bhanja, Baliar Singh, Sundaray Bissoi, Sangram Singh, Nanda Bissoi and many others came forward to strengthen the hands of Dora. Since they were quite acquainted with the jungle area, they resorted to Guerrilla warfare. They planned to fight against the British by concealing themselves in the jungles and ghaties.

The British operation

On 14 February, 1836 Captain Butler led the British troop to the Ghats in search of the family members of Dhananjay Bhanja. He had two prong tasks to perform–to capture the royal members and to rescue to treasury which had been taken by Dhananjay Bhanja. Dora had instigated the Khonds to resort to violence against the British troop. When the British troop reached the Ghats to make a head way to Udaygiri, they faced resistance from the Khonds. When the British troops forcibly took away the fowls of the Khond villages, they picked up quarrel with the Khonds.

Rebuff from the Khonds

Meanwhile the rebellious Khonds attacked a British detachment between Udaygiri and Durga Prasad. In that encounter, thirteen sepoys and two European officers named Lieutenant Bromly and Ensign Gibbon were killed. The British troop had earlier captured some Khonds and took others as prisoners after this incident. The Khonds under Dora Bissoi were ready to give fight to the British. On the otherhand, the British also became ruthless to quell the rebellious Khonds.

British operation leading to capture Dora

The British troop entered into Amhajhara and Jiripada to capture Dora Bissoi but in vain. Dora was still the ring leader. The British searched in many places to capture him. He moved from place to place and at last sought refuge in Angul. The British, being failure to capture Dora Bissoi, declared a reward of 5,000 rupees who would capture him. The Tributary Chief of Angul betrayed him and handed over the Khond Chief to the British. At the instance of Henry Ricketts, the Commissioner of Orissa, Raja Somnath Singh of Angul had played a vital role in surrendering Dora Bissoi.

The aftermath

After Dora, other rebellious leaders were captured. They were tried and awarded punishment. Dora received life imprisonment and died inside the jail. 40 rebellious persons were awarded death sentences, 29 received confinement for life and 2 others received the same sentence for 8 years. Similarly, others got imprisonment according to their involvement in the uprising.

New arrangement

After capturing Dora Bissoi and other rebellious leaders, the British Government made some new arrangement with the Khonds. The British appointed Sam Bissoi who had played a great role to capture of Kamal Lochan Dora as the Chief of the Khonds. With this the rebellion organised Kamal Lochan Dora came to an end.

KHOND RISING UNDER CHAKRA BISSOI

The death of Dora Bissoi did not put an end to the Khond insurgency. Chakra Bissoi, the nephew of Dora Bissoi came forward to have another show down with the British authority. He posed a great problem to the British.

Causes of the uprising under Chakra

The Khonds under Chakra Bissoi were provoked to raise a standard of revolt against the British Raj. Several causes contributed for this rebellion. First, the death of Dora Bissoi, had left a scar in the mind of Chakra. He wanted to take revenge of the death of his uncle.

Secondly, the actions of S.C. Macpherson, the Meriah Agent disturbed the Khonds a lot. He rescued *Meriahs* and threatened the Khonds of dire consequences who violated the law regarding Meriah. Further, he punished the Khonds ruthlessly.

Thirdly, Captain Macpherson was humiliated in his camp at Bisipara in 1846. He was forced by the Khonds to surrender the Meriahs whom he had rescued from the Khond area. Otherwise the Khonds would have killed him. This activity of the Khonds under the leadership of Chakra made them bold.

Finally, the Khonds installed Pitambar, the minor son of Dhananjay Bhanja as the king of Ghumsar. This emboldened them and being surcharged with enthusiasm, they looted the British camp. This led the British Government to devise means to put down the rebellion.

The British strategy

Macpherson did not follow the policy of conciliation with the Khonds. The British Government felt that his presence as a Meriah agent was detrimental to the smooth functioning of British administration at Ghumsar. So, the Madras Presidency appointed Lt. Col. Campbell as the Meriah Agent who succeeded Macpherson. Campbell was a man of different attitude. He followed a persuasive policy and tried to win over the Khonds. So, the Khonds promised to abstain from Meriah sacrifice. In this way trial was made to woo the Khonds and to alienate them from the spell of Chakra Bissoi.

Role of Somnath Singh

Campbell won most of the Khonds by his strategy. However, Chakra Bissoi did not come under the spell of the British authoriy. He organised the Khonds against the British. It was alleged that Chakra Bissoi and Nabghan Konhoro were assisted by Somnath Singh, the King of Angul. The British Government followed a new policy. He pardoned both Chakra and Nabghan. The policy bore fruit and Nabghan surrendered. However, Dora did not come in terms with the British. The British became sceptic about Somnath Singh and wanted to take stringent steps against him.

Confiscation of Angul (1848)

In 1846, Somnath Singh picked up his quarrel with the British. He forcibly took possession of a village of Hindol. For that offence he was fined Rs. 3,000/–. The King Tried to protest but in vain. Lt. Col. Campbell was authorised to march Angul. In 1848, Angul was confiscated and Somnath Singh was sent as a prisoner to the Hazaribagh Jail. He had to pay a price for supporting Chakra Bissoi.

British attempt to Capture Chakra

Then the British made vigorous attempt to capture Chakra Bissoi. The arrest of Rendo Majhi, the leader of the Borikiya Khonds of Kalahandi and the subsequent attack on the camp of A.C. Mac Neill who succeed Campbell as Meriah Agent led British to conclude that Chakra Bissoi was behind the scene. Meanwhile G.F. Cockburn who succeeded Samuells as the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals wanted to take steps against Chakra Bissoi. The Zamindar of Madanpur was accused of giving shelter to Chakra and so he was removed from his zamindary. Although, R.M. Macdonald sent troop to capture Dharam Singh Mandhata of Athagaon who had given shelter to Chakra. He was captured.

Chakra's strategy

Chakra Bissoi never halted in his mission. He knew that the Savaras of Parlakhemundi were rising against the British under the leadership of Dandasena of Gaiba. Chakra united the Savaras and Khonds and instigated them to set fire and plunder those villages which did not support Dandasena. Captain Wilson moved to suppress this rebellion and captured Dandasena who was captured and hanged. Chakra then moved from Parlakhemundi to the area of Tel valley. Coming under the threat of the British authority the king of Patna could not help Chakra. Then Chakra entered into the forests of Khondmal. From that time nothing was known about Chakra Bissoi. In 1857 G.F. Cockburn, the Commissioner of Orissa wrote to the Government regarding Chakra as such :

> *"From all that I can ascertain it is nearly certain that Chakra Bissoi has certainly left his former hunts where he could no longer be safe and no one appears to have the least idea as to where he has gone. My impression is that he has abandoned this part of the country and sought refuge in the more central parts of India where he is comparatively unknown and without influence."*

Be that as it may, the part played by Chakra Bissoi in the Tribal uprising was commendable. The British failed to capture him even though efforts were made in every quarter. No doubt, this tribal Khond leader had given a toe challenge to the British authority in the early part of the British administration in Orissa.

REVOLT OF RATNA NAYAK OF KEONJHAR

The revolt or *Meli* of Ratna Nayak of Keonjhar, a Feudatory state during the British rule in Orissa was certainly eye catching. The tribals of Keonjhar were organised zender the leadership of Ratna Nayak.

Situation in Keonjhar

With the death of Maharaja, Gadadhar Bhanja of Keonjhar, among his two sons, the eldest one Dhanurjay was coronated as king in 1861. By that time he was minor. Of course, he was the son of his *phulabivahi* wife as king Purusottamadev was to Kapilendra. This was taken with a pinch of salt by Pattamahadei (chief queen) Bishnupriya. She submitted a petition before T.E. Ravenshaw that before his death the king of Keonjhar had proposed to accept Brundaban Bhanja, the younger brother of Krushnachandra Bhanja of Mayurbhanja. So, he should be the legal hair to the throne.

The British attitude

T.E. Ravenshaw went through the petition of queen Bishnupriya and rejected it. The queen sent a petition to the Calcutta High Court but it was also rejected. Being depressed the queen appealed to the Privy Council at London. It also went unheard. The queen became disgusted.

Appeal of the queen

Being disgusted, the queen appealed to Ratna Nayak to do the needful. The Bhuyans and the Juangs were now ready to fight for the cause of the queen. This was a great challenge to the British authority. The queen's appeal was well responded.

Emergence of Ratna Nayak

Ratna Nayak had a humble birth at Tarpur village of Keonjhar district in 1820. He was very staunch from the beginning and called a spade. He was quite aware about the tyranny of Dhanurjay. He, as the leader of the Bhuyans, organised them and raised them to fight against Dhanurjay. The new king had taken away their rights and privileges. Their plights were not heard by the king. They suffered a lot under the new regime. As, T.E. Ravenshaw had performed the coronation ceremony of Dhanurjay, he had no fear to anybody Ratna Nayak emerged to put an end to the regime of Dhanurjay.

The Plan

Ratna Nayak organised the Bhuyans. All of them with the queen Bishnupriya wanted to have a plan. So, the queen left the palace of Keonjhargarh and came to Basantpur. She met Ratna Nayak and other Bhuyans and Juangs. All of them took a vow to oust Dhanurjay Bhanja from the throne of Keonjhar. They became ready to have a toe fight with the king.

The British move

The informers gave news to T.E. Ravenshaw that a *meli* was going to take place against Dhanurjay. T.E. Ravenshaw was very clever. He wanted to settle the dispute of the royal family in a peaceful means. He persuaded the king and the queen to come to a negotiation. Accordingly, the queen came to Keonjhargarh palace. Dhanurjay was again coronated and the queen blessed him.

Ratna's rebellion

This activity of the queen appeared as a betrayal to Ratna Nayak. He organised the Bhuyans, Juangs, Kohlas and declared that until they place King Brundaban Bhanj, they would not leave the fight. In his venture other leaders like Nanda Nayak, Nanda Pradhan, Babu Nayak, Dasarathi Kuanr, Padu Nayak and others helped him. On 28 April 1868, he entered into the palace with his supporters and kidnapped the Dewan and many officers of the Court of Dhanurjay Bhanja.

The British steps

The British Government took steps to putdown the rebellion. Dr. W. Hayes, the Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhum visited Keonjhargarh on 7 May 1768 with a contingent of armed forces. The followers of Ratna Nayak had killed the Dewan. Dr. Hayes shouted for the surrender of the rebels. Ratna Nayak did not care for that and escaped the notice of the Deputy Commissioner. On the other hand, they captured some policemen. They cut off the postal service between Chaibasa and Cuttack. This move of the rebellious leader put the British administration in trouble. Now Colonel E.T. Dalton, the Commissioner of Chhotnagpur marched with contingent to Keonjhargarh palace. He was opposed on the way and it became difficult on his part to reach Keonjhargarh in June.

Then Dalton opened the Pandoras box. The Bhuyan houses were sat on fire. On the demand of the British Government, the kings of Bonai, Mayurbhanj, Pal Lahara and Dhenkanal sent their Paiks to help Dalton. The Bhuyans under the leadership of Ratna Nayak fought back to the wall. T.E. Ravenshaw also reached Keonjhargarh. Ratna Nayak and Nanda Nayak surrendered and the 'Ratna meli' came to an end.

Result

The result of the Ratna Nayak's rebellion was far reaching. It enraged the Bhuyans of Keonjhar. Queen Bishnupriya lived at Cuttack for the rest of her life. Ratna Nayak was awarded capital punishment with six others. Thus, Ratna meli came to an end.

Thus, the Bhuyans under Ratna Nayak gave a toe challenge to the British regime. Although Ratna Nayak's rebellion ended in a smoke but the Bhuyans did not stop there. They revolted against the British authority more vigorously under the leadership of Dharani Nayak.

THE REVOLT OF DHARANI NAYAK

The revolt or *meli* of Dharanidhar Nayak, a Bhuyan leader of Keonjhar against Dhanurjay Bhanja constitutes another inglorious chapter during the British rule in Orissa. The Bhuyans became more organised under his leadership and challenged the king. Of course, the British Government ruthlessly suppressed it.

Causes

The causes of the discontentment of the Bhuyans were many. They had to render *bethi* to the king. This was a very burdonsome thing which the Bhuyans edured. They wanted to discard this practice.

Secondly, King Dhanurjay Bhanja was a tyrannical ruler. His administration was the other name of exploitation. The tribal people were grossly exploited by the king which made them violent in later stage.

Thirdly, the appointment of Fakir Mohan Senapati as a Diwan of Keonjhargarh was not liked by Dharanidhar Bhuyan, the leader of the Bhuyans. Somehow or other, they thought that Fakir Mohan Senapati was a stumbling block to their progress.

Fourthly, the role of Bichitrananda Das, a constant adviser to King Dhanurjay precipitated the situation. For building a dam across the stream Machha Kandana, he ordered the Bhuyans and other tribes to engage themselves in the building of this dam. It was difficult on their part to do this forced labour after maintaining their family through a little earning. This gave a spark to the outbreak of the revolt.

Finally, the dissatisfaction of Dharani Nayak gave a final shape to the Bhuyan uprising in Keonjhar. The way he had to lose his job through treachery led him to be rebellious and they began the 'Dharani meli'.

Dharanidhar Nayak– A profile

Dharanidhar Nayak was born on 5 May 1864 at Kusumita village from Baigani Devi and Laichhan Nayak. After receiving education in the locality, Dharanidhar was sent to Tulsipur at Cuttack to receive survey overseer training. After completion of training he returned to Keonjhar and at last he was absorbed in the service of the State of Dhanurjay Bhanja. His regards for work drew nearer to the administration. However, Bichitrananda Das could not tolerate Dharanidhar. Meanwhile, Dharanidhar was entrusted with the task of settling a dispute between Lungikud and Godhuli. He accomplished the task and sent the map and other records with a Paik to handover it to King Dhanurjay. He then went to the house of his sister at Padmapur. The clever Bichitrananda managed to get all these papers from the Paik and endorsed it from an English officer that he had done the work. He submitted the papers to Dhanurjay who was dissatisfied with Dharanidhar and dismissed him from service. This treachery made Dharanidhar furious who wanted to settle score with Dhanurjay Bhanja and Bichitrananda.

The Rebellion

Now Dharanidhar gathered around him the Bhuyans, Kohlas and Juangs around him and became their leader. Dharanidhar proceeded with him to Champakpur and killed Nanda Dhal, the former Diwan of the king. After receiving this news the king left the palace and went to Anandpur. Fakir Mohan Senapati, the Dewan of Keonjhargarh proceeded to meet G.Toynbee, the Commissioner at Cuttack, but he was captured by Dharanidhar on the way. Now H.Dowson, the Deputy Commissioner of Chaibasa marched Keonjhargarh to putdown the rebellion. Dhanurjay went to Cuttack to meet the Commissioner. Being furious, the rebels looted the houses of the officers who did not support them. They broke the gates, of the royal prison and freed the prisoners.

Fakir Mohan Senapati, who was captive by Dharanidhar now by the latter's permission wrote a letter to his friend Bholanath Dey, a Court Surveyor at Anandpur to send 100 betel leaves and 200 betel nuts for the Queen's son Dharanidhar who was very fond of betel. The sugarcane field is to be irrigated by digging canal from the north. Otherwise, the sugarcane field will be destroyed. A wire was attached with the letter. Meanwhile, Dharanidhar had declared himself as the adopted son of the queen of Keonjhargarh who never wanted Dhanurjay to continue as the king of Keonjhar. This letter was well interpreted and instruction was given to attack the palace from northern side by bullets of the sepoys. Dharanidhar was advised by Fakir Mohan to meet Dawson Sahib to obtain his grace. Dharanidhar obeyed it and met Dawson near Ruchir village. As per the previous plan, he was captured and arrested.

The aftermath

With the capitulation of Dharanidhar and other rebels, the *meli* came to an end. Dharanidhar was tried and sent to Cuttack Central Jail for 7 years. Other rebels also got imprisonment. Being released from Cuttack Jail in 1897, Dharanidhar changed the way of his life. He lived at Banki Muhana nearer to Puri in a hermitage and breathed his last in 1944. With him ended a chapter of revolt associated with Keonjhar which was aimed against the British Raj.

Results

The result of the Dharani *meli* were far reaching. At first, the British Government realised the discontentment of the subjects of Keonjhargarh. So, the British agent H.P. Wylly came and took over the charge of Keonjhargarh.

Secondly, Fakir Mohan resigned and left Keonjhargarh. Durga Das Mukherjee was appointed in his place. He concentrated on the developmental projects of the kingdom.

Thirdly, the administration at Keonjhar now became humane. The subjects were not treated with scorn and contempt. Their grievances were heard with due justice. The revolt of Dharanidhar opened the eyes of the authority who now took keen interest to solve the problem of the subjects.

Fourthly, Dhanurjay Bhanja submitted a petition to the Commissioner to restore him to the throne of Keonjhargarh. After much consideration his petition was accepted and he got back his throne. However, a Political Agent was to be appointed there to have a check on his authority. Accordingly, Ray Bahadur Nanda Kishore Das was appointed as the Political Agent.

Fifthly, the followers of Dharanidhar Bhuyan like Mani Mohapatra, Aguan Singh and Banamali Mahanayak were sentenced to transportation for life. Others were given sentences of imprisonment.

Finally, this rebellion opened the eye of the British Government. They wanted to make their rule by effectively implementing their administration with a touch of humanity.

In this way, the Dharani *meli* of Keonjhar came to a dead end by the British intervention. Of course, the injustice done to Dharanidhar Nayak was not met with justice. His effort was commendable and his name still glitters as a great son of the soils of Orissa.

BIRSAMUNDA'S REBELLION

The rebellion of Birsa Munda against the British Raj was a rebellion of its kind which perturbed the British administration for quite some time. The Mundas regarded him as God (Birsa *Bhagwan*) and by his inspiration fought against the British. The suppression of the rebellion by the British authorities put an end to the Munda uprising.

Causes of the Munda revolt

The causes of the Munda revolt were not too far to seek. At first the British put a check on the right of the Mundas over forest and restricted them to stop cutting of trees in the jungle. This made the earning of livelihood of the Mundas difficult. 'Hungry man is an angry man'– thus goes the proverbial saying. So, the hungry Mundas became rebellious.

Secondly, the exploitation of the Zamindars made them angry. The Zamindars not only took revenue from them but also engaged them in *bethi* (forced labour) which made them furious.

Thirdly, the English missionaries took chance of the poverty of the Mundas and tried to convert them to Christianity. This policy of the missionaries was detected by Birsa who thought to save the religion of the community and united the Mundas to join hand against this heinous deeds of the missionaries.

Finally, it was felt that the rule of the East India Company has become a failure. Birsa wanted to establish a Government which could replace the Company rule in this land.

Career of Birsa Munda– A brief sketch

Birsa Munda was born on 15 November 1857 in the Chalkad village in the Ranchi district of the present Jharkhand. His father Sugana and mother Kami took care of Birsa who read in the village school at Saiga. He then entered into the Lower Primary School at Buruju and Middle English School at Chaibasa. The atrocities of Zamindars and the evil intention of the Christian missionaries led Birsa to unite the Mundas. He was successful in his mission. The British considered him as a great enemy and tried to capture him. He was caught by the treachery of some Mundas and sent to the Ranji Jail where he breathed his last.

The Revolt

Birsa wanted to give wing to his desire. Rumour was spread that Birsa Munda had ordered for the massacre of the missionaries. The District Superintendent of Police G.R.K. Meares captured Birsa and took him to Ranchi Jail as a prisoner. Although in 1897, on the occasion of 60 years of Queen Victoria, the prisoners were released and Birsa got respite from the jail. He then concentrated on the task of collecting Mundas to fight against the British and made a plan to leave Chalkad and made Dumburi the base for fighting against the British. The Mundas were surcharged with spirit.

Etkedih forest became the operation ground of the Mundas against the British. Gaya Munda, a staunch follower of Birsa, made it his operation ground. He with his son Sanre Munda killed one police constable. H.C. Streatfield, the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi marched towards Etkedih. The police sat fire on his house. All the family members of Gaya including women came outside with weapon and attacked the police. All of them were captured and sent to Ranchi Jail. On this the Mundas attacked Kunti police station led by Donka Munda on 7 January, 1900 and killed a constable named Raghuni Ram. However, Birsa Munda was not included in the party, but he was alleged by the British that Birsa was behind the brain. This enraged Birsa who come to have a show down with the British.

Inside the caves of Sali Rakab hill, Birsa with his followers having traditional weapons of the tribals like bows, arrows and axes waited to start operation against the British. The British authorities got information about it. Commissioner Forbes with Deputy Commissioner Streatfield and Captain Roche gharoed around the hill with force and ordered Birsa and his followers to surrender. Since they did not obey, the force started firing and shot dead many Mundas. Birsa fled away from that place. The staunch followers of Birsa including Donka Munda and Majhia Munda surrendered to the British.

Steps to Capture Birsa

The British did not rest on ore. The one point goal was to capture Birsa Munda. A cash award of Rs.500/– was made for capturing Birsa. Being tempted seven Mundas captured Birsa from the forest near Sentra and handed him over to Streatfield, the Deputy Commissioner. Birsa was sent to Ranchi Jail where he met his mysterious end on 9 June 1900. A young man of hardly 24 or 25 years of age Birsa Munda had his operation in Chhotnagpur, nearby border areas of Orissa, Jharkhand and Bihar. With his death the tribals of these area deeply mourned.

Effects

The effects of the Munda uprising led by Birsa were many. At first, it aimed against the Zamindars and their associates who exploited the simple tribal people receiving British patronage. It made the British Government cautious about the situation.

Secondly, this was an attempt to free Mother India from the yoke of servitude of the British. Although Birsa failed in his mission, his venture however inspired others, both tribal and non-tribal to raise voice against the British authority.

Thirdly, the rising of the Mundas against the British under the leadership of Birsa opened the eyes of the Government which became cautious about the problems of the tribes. Hence, the Government did not want to take sympathetic attitude towards them.

Finally, the rebellion of Birsa Munda instilled nationalism in the mind of Indians. They followed his example in dealing with the British. Not only Birsa became an ideal for the tribal people but non-tribals too for the spirit of his nationalism.

Thus, the revolt of Birsa against the British is a glorious chapter in the freedom struggle of our country. The tribals of Orissa, Jharkhand, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh feel proud of Birsa's rebellion. Due to his spirit and unflagging zeal to fight against the British, Birsa Munda carves a special position in the mind of every nationalist.

THE TRIBAL UPRISING IN PARLAKHEMUNDI

Parlakhemundi has played a vital role in the formation of Orissa as a separate province. Prior to that the tribals of Parlakhemundi also had opposed the British rule before the English had occupied Orissa in 1803. After the British occupation of Orissa, the tribals also opposed the British administration tooth and nail and became constant headache to the British Government. This paper attempts at a close study of the tribal uprising in Parlakhemundi under the British rule.

Early settlement in Parlakhemundi and rising of Savaras

When the authority of the English East India Company was established over the Northern Circar in 1766, Parlakhemundi as a part of this Circar came under its sway. This alien rule brought discontentment among the zamindar and the common men of Parlakhemundi. For the first time, the Savaras rebelled against the company rule under the redoubtable leadership of Radhakrishna Dandasena. This rebellion was the first voice against the British authority. No doubt, the East India Company ruthlessly suppressed this rebellion and awarded exemplary punishment to Dandasena, the leader of the rebels. He was executed and the Savara rebellion was nipped at the bud.

The Design of Zamindar

The rebellion led by the Savaras was no doubt a pointer in the direction of popular discontentment which taught lesson to the Zamindars of Parlakhemundi. During that period, the Zamindar of Parlakhemundi styled himself as Raja. Under him were eleven hill chiefs of Rayagada, Saranga, Jiringa, Lahoriagoda, Kamalasingi, Namghagar, Gandhati, Kavimpara, Narayanpur and Gumma. Each of these tributaries was headed by a Bisoyee who constituted the strength of the Zamindari. They provided military help to the Raja as and when required. Taking their strength into consideration, Gajapati Narayan Deo, the Zamindar of Parlakhemundi wanted to challenge the British authority and defied the Treaty of Hyderabads. By the help of the tribal and common people he tried to intercept the road communication between Bengal and Madras and put the British in hot water.

New arrangement at Parlakhemundi

Cotsford, the Resident of Ganjam reported about the hostile attitude of Narayan Deo to the British authorities of Madras and Colonel Peach arrived with British soldiers to help him. Raja Narayan Deo received the help from the local tribals to face the British army. However, he was defeated by the British army and he fled away and took refuge in the hills and forests of Parlakhemundi. Later on by the help of tribals he fought against the British and died in 1770. Gourachandra Gajapati was appointed as the Raja of Parlakhemundi by the British. With the gradual march of time, rivalry began between Sitaram Raju of Vijianagaram and Gourachandra Gajapati of Parlakhemundi. Interestingly, the British supported the cause of Sitaram and Gourachandra fled away from Parlakhemundi. Jagannath Deo, the step brother of Gourachandra was appointed as the Zamindar of Parlakhemundi. He could not meet the demand of the British and was imprisoned with his son Purusottam and Durga Raz, one of his relatives. Again Gourachandra was reinstated as the Raja of Parlakhemundi.

People's uprising

The people now took up the cause of the Raja and revolted against the British rule. Taking advantage of this Jagannath Deo influenced the Bisoyees and rose against the

British. He with the help of the Bisoyees, kidnapped Lt. Youngson and kept him as hostage in the hills. The Collector of Ganjam acted promptly and freed Purusottam and Durga Raz and influenced some Bisoyees to come to his side. Durga Raz helped the Collector in capturing Laxmi Nursoo Patroudua, a rebel who had helped Jagannath Deo. Lt. Youngson was released from his custody. Of course, Durga Raz was suitably rewarded and appointed as the Manager of the estate.

Padmanava's oppressive measures

In 1802, with the death of Gourachandra Deo, Purusottam Narayan Deo was made the Zamindar of Parlakhemundi. When Durga Raz died in 1813, his son Padmanabha Deo became the Manager of Parlakhemundi estate. He liasoned with the Bisoyees and attacked Southern Orissa. He was defeated and sent to Mosulipatnam as a prisoner. In quick succession Narasingha Deo and Subash Rao Muduli became Managers, but they could not restore peace. In the meanwhile, the strife inside the palace continued. Disturbances became a regular feature in Parlakhemundi. Padmanabha Das was appointed as Manager of the estate but his oppressive measures dissatisfied the people. In 1819, William Thackeray visited Parlakhemundi who studied the situation and recommended that the British Government should show friendly attitude towards the Raja of Parlakhemundi. Of course, the Madras Presidency paid a deaf ear to it and tried to exert influence over the administration of Parlakhemundi.

Conflict between the wives of Gourachandra Gajapati

In the meanwhile, conflict between the two wives of Gourachandra Gajapati, namely Gajapati Pattamahadevi and Suhagi Mahadei had reached its zenith for possession of power. In 1819, the Collector of Ganjam, after studying the situation, appointed Nityananda Pati as the Manager of the estate and handedover the charge to the minor Zamindar. Of course being an outsider Nityananda was not liked by the people of Parlakhemundi and he was replaced by Gopinath Patnaik. He was very notorious and with the help of Rakana Chandrudoo, he exploited people and burnt their houses and property. Both of them were driven away from the administration and were arrested by the British authority and again were released. They returned and created disturbances. Suhagi Mahadei was able to take over the charge of administration of the estate only giving way to anarchy.

Reappointment of Padmanabha Das and rebellion of G. K. Dora

The reappointment of Padmanabha Das as the Manager of the estate created discontentment among the Zamindars. Ofcourse, Robert Eden, the new Collector of Ganjam and James Fraser supported Padmanabha. At this juncture, Gopinath Patnaik again appeared in the scene and instigated the Bisoyees and Doratnams to fight against the British. Robert Eden marched from Ganjam to put an end to the rebellion at Parlakhemundi with four companies of sepoys but the rebels blocked the way of the British army and plundered their food. Their way to Chicacole was blocked. The British had no way but to submit before the rebels led by Godlapadhi Krishnama Dora and Utamsigh Ram Rouz. By distributing Rs.19,000/– among the rebels through the Paiks, the Collector saved the situation.

Many problems appeared on the path of the British for shouldering the responsibilities of the estate of Parlakhemundi. In 1831 Godlapadhi Krishnama Dora with the Paiks attacked the village in Karakavalsa and the southern and western parts of Zamindari of Parlakhemundi came under his sway. The new Collector G.M. Ogilvie tried to put an end to these troubles by appointing Dilly Jagannatham as the Manager of the estate but his mission was not successful. So, the British Government sent George Edward Russel to Parlakhemundi in December 1832 to solve the situation. He studied the situation and recommended that the Raja's family of Parlakhemundi should be given proper education to deal with the situation and the estate should be connected with neighbouring state for military purpose.

The British steps to quell the rebellion

After that on 1 February, 1833 Russel with Major Baxter arrived at Parlakhemundi to put an end to the rebellious activities. He detained Gopinath Patnaik and Rakana Chandrudoo and declared a reward of Rs. 2,000/–. Being fearful, some rebels went to Gumma. The people of Gumma also fled towards the hill and Gumma fort was captured by Major Baxter. The Savaras started insurgent activities. Russel had no alternative but to proclaim Martial Law throughout Parlakhemundi by which people charged with treason had to get death sentence. Further, he negotiated with the Bisoyees to lay down arms. In the meanwhile, Baxter was killed treacherously while he was moving with a small troop to capture Krishnama Dora. The Bisoyees, Paiks and Doratnams now became more active against the British. Now Russel acted promptly and handed over power to the Zamindars of Parlakhemundi. He ordered Captain Campbell to deal with the rebels scorn and contempt.

Russel became active and took drastic steps to deal with the rebels. At last, he was able to capture Jiraga and six other forts. Military operation started against the rebels and they were captured and mercilessly killed. The Collector immediately took up the charge of the administration of Parlakhemundi and not a single local man was involved in the administration of the estate. The British Government ultimately succeeded in routing the rebels of Parlakhemundi.

No doubt, the uprising in Parlakhemundi was first of its kind. The Savaras of Parlakhemundi with others fought against the British and showed their courage at different points of time. The rebellious activities of the tribals were sufficient to give a check to the British authority. In due course of time it became a model for others in Orissa to follow against the British as and when required. In subsequent days the Paik rebellion and other uprisings took place in Orissa against the British authority. However, the tribal uprising of Parlakhemundi was first of its kind which challenged the British rule. The people of Orissa were inspired by this rebellion and later on many rebellions took place on this soil against the British authority. Although, the tribal uprising of Parlakhemundi has become a forgotten chapter in Orissan history, still its role in making the people of Orissa cautious against the oppressive British rule can never be relegated to distant background.

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Chapter–38

HISTORY OF PRESS AND JOURNALISM IN ORISSA DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

The history of press in Orissa owed a lot to the Christian missionaries who were pioneers in this field. With the establishment of printing press by them began the story of press in Orissa. In due course of time vernacular press emerged in Orissa. It also prepared the way for the growth of journalism. The growth of press and journalism in Orissa led to the rise and spread of nationalism in this soil.

The early attempt

Infact the Baptist missionaries were the pioneers of establishing printing press in Orissa. They at first printed religious texts in Oriya for the propaganda of Christian ideas. For the first time in 1837, they established a press in Cuttack named the 'Cuttack Printing Press' and published the earlier Oriya journals. They were the pioneers of press in Orissa.

Growth of Press

In 1866, the second printing press in Orissa was established which was named as the Cuttack Printing Company. Only after two years in 1868, the third printing press was established at Balasore by the efforts of Fakir Mohan Senapati with the help of local Zamindar and people. After five years of the establishment of that press by Fakir Mohan, another press was established in Balasore in 1873. Between 1873 and 1899 establishment of press in Orissa became rapid.

Vernacular Journals and Newspapers

The establishment of the press was a landmark in the history of journalism in Orissa. As stated earlier, the Missionaries had established press in 1837. In the same year the first Oriya newspaper named *Kujibara Patrika* was published by the initiative taken by a monk named Sadhu Sundar Das. Then the missionaries published the journal named *Jnanaruna* in 1849 for the propagation of their religious ideas. They also published two other journals named *Prabodha Chandrika* and *Arunodaya*.

A milestone was established in the field of Oriya journals when Bichitrananda Das being inspired by T.E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa established the Cuttack Printing Press in 1866. From that press was published *Utkala Dipika* edited by Gauri Shankar Ray. He was the editor of this journal till his death in 1917. Fakir Mohan Senapati, the 'Father of Oriya Prose' established a press at Balasore and by the inspiration of John Beams, the Collector of Balasore published two monthly journals named *Bodhadayini* and *Balasore Sambad Vahika*. Later on *Sambad Vahika* became a weekly journal. This journal remained as an influential journal of Orissa in the last quarter of the Nineteenth century.

Cuttack Mission Press launched two periodicals *Sevak* and *Samskaraka*. The *Sevak* was a monthly journal and *Samskaraka* was a weekly journal. In 1889, *Sambalpur Hitaisini* was published under the redoubtable patronage of King Sudhaladev. It reflected the news and views of the people of Western Orissa. It was edited by Nilamani Vidyaratna. It played a vital role in giving wing to the language agitation in Sambalpur. Similarly receiving the royal patronage of Harihara Mardaraj of Khallikote *Prajabandhu* was published under the editorship of Vidyaratna. It was meant to check the dominance of the Telgus. Raja Baikuntha Nath Dey of Balasore set up another press at Balasore and brought out a journal *Utkala Darpana* in 1873. *Utkala Madhupa*, *Utkala Putra*, *Kohinur Utkal Sahita*, *Dainika Asha*, *Samaj etc.* were other journals and newspapers.

The English Journals and Newspapers

With the march of time, the English journals and newspapers were published in Orissa. Among the leading ones were *Cuttack Argus* (1869), *Cuttack Star* (1869), *Cuttack Standard Orissa Patriot* (1866), *Ganjam News* (1896) and *Star of Utkal* (1906-1912). Those were the novel experiments in the field of journalism in Orissa.

Results of such publications

The results of such publications were numerous. First, the language agitation at Sambalpur gained momentum due to the *Sambalpur Hitaisini*. Other Oriya journals came forward to give vent to this.

Secondly, the newspapers and journals exposed the black spots of the British administration and made the people cautious. The British Government also became cautious in dealing the public of Orissa.

Thirdly, it flared nationalism. Through these newspapers and journals, the message of nationalism was spread. The idea of nationalism was injected into the body, mind and soul of the people of Orissa through these writings.

Fourthly, the publication of newspaper and journals played a vital role in the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts. The *'Utha Kankala'* poem of Godabarish Mohapatra was a pointer in this direction.

Fifthly, the national programmes associated with different Gandhian movements, atrocities during the Salt Satyagraha and Quit India Movement *etc.* were published in the pages of the newspapers and journals. It flared up nationalism and dragged the people of Orissa to the fold of national movement.

Sixthly, the Christian Missionaries and the Brahmo Samajists propagated their religion through the journals and newspapers. These journals and newspapers helped in the spread of Christianity and Brahmo movement.

Lastly, these newspapers and journals made people vigilant regarding the day-to-day happenings. They could know various programmes and informations regarding many things from these newspapers and journals.

Thus, the story of press and journalism during British rule in Orissa was quite sensational. The growth of press and publication of journals and newspapers in Orissa helped a lot for the growth of anti-British feeling among the people of Orissa. Such growth also facilitated for the rise of journalism in Orissa. Gopabandhu Das's *Samaja* was a product of this phenomenon.

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